The Outlook

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MR. TAFT ON THE PHILIPPINES

The Outlook has already devoted no little space to the Jones Bill now before the Philippines Committee of the Senate. The testimony of Dean Worcester, which we have already reported, has now received the influential corroboration of ex-President Taft. In the hearing given to Mr. Taft before the Senate Committee he characterized the preamble to the Jones Bill, which affirms the intention of the United States to relinquish the Philippine Islands upon the establishment of a stable native government, in no uncertain terms.

Mr. Taft said: "I do not think that such a recital can be better calculated to start up insurrection in the Philippines. It would not be two years before the Filipinos would be accusing us of not making good our promise if this preamble is approved. It is our first duty to prepare the Filipinos for self-government, not to give it to them because the politicians among them ask for it." Indeed, Mr. Taft quoted from a book by President Wilson a passage pointing out the fact that the art of self-government cannot be given to others, but must come as a result of long social discipline in self-mastery.

As to the time in which the Filipinos can be prepared for self-government, Mr. Taft said: "You cannot make one generation over; certainly you cannot make over a generation of adults, ninety per cent of whom are woefully ignorant and out of touch with any modern civilization—where not only ninety per cent of the people are not fit for self-government, but the ten per cent of educated Filipinos do not understand self-government, and are not really in favor of it in the sense we use the term."

As an instance of the Filipino idea of democratic government Mr. Taft cited the familiar story of the two Filipinos who came to him during his term as Governor-General of the islands with a brief, in which they declared that the Filipinos were ready for self-government because there were only half as many offices as there were educated Filipinos, and that by running two shifts of men peace and contentment would be secured.

Apparently Mr. Taft does not feel that self-government can be approximated in the islands short of some sixty years, and he regards all present attempts to suggest a date for the relinquishment of the islands as instruments for the promotion of disorder for the discouragement of good government.

"The Democratic promise of independence," Mr. Taft said, "has been a great obstruction to the carrying out of our plan." Mr. Bryan's defeat for the Presidency in 1904, Mr. Taft added, "was followed in the islands by the surrender of thousands of arms by the natives, and from that time insurrection in the mountains has been practically nil."

We hope as a result of the strong pleas made by Mr. Taft and Dean Worcester that the Jones Bill and its preamble will undergo considerable modification before the passage of the measure by Congress.

IN CONGRESS

If reports and indications are to be trusted, the one matter now before Congress which is to be pushed even against extreme measures of delay is the Shipping Bill. In the Senate last week Democratic leaders who are supposed to represent the position of the Administration did not hesitate to say that Congress would be kept in session until March 4, if necessary, for the passage of this bill, upon which the President is said to have affixed his most positive and urgent approval.

Against the bill Senator Lodge and Senator Root made forceful speeches last week; and (speaking, of course, for the Republican minority) resented any threats to push the bill through without full debate. That the measure should receive careful consideration is evident to the country at large, because it represents a new step in National legislation and is open to objections which may or may not be remedied after debate.

Senator Root briefly summed up the three

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chief objections: First, he said, "It proposes to embark the Government of the United States upon a very large expense in a business venture of a kind in which the private enterprise of the United States has uniformly met with loss rather than profit." Of more importance, Senator Root thought, is the fear that the bill would put the United States into foreign trade at just the time when friction regarding the law of nations about neutral commerce is prevalent, so that our Government's good faith is likely to be questioned, and it is likely to be charged with violating neutrality through its own official acts. Finally, there is the objection that the extension of governmental functions involved is more extreme than would be even ownership of railways or telegraphs by the Government, because the United States in purchasing ships and carrying on commerce through them would be raising money by taxation in order to conduct "a business in which individual enterprise had failed." Senator Lodge declared the measure was, in effect, "a gross subsidy," and that its adoption would declare to the world that private enterprise could never build up a merchant marine in this country.

The Philadelphia Maritime Exchange and other bodies have protested against the bill on the lines indicated above. On the other hand, merchants and associations of merchants who are anxious to provide immediate means for carrying American goods to foreign ports in American ships urge that the measure is indispensable for the end in view, and assert that ocean transportation is now practically in the hands of a monopoly. In short, they advocate the ship purchase bill, and closer control over commerce generally, as the only way of saving American commerce in a critical juncture. They point out also that the Government should not and would not enter the field of ocean transportation as a cut-throat competitor.

The Immigration Bill passed the Senate on January 2 by the great majority of 50 to 7. It passed the lower house with almost the same provisions nearly a year ago by a vote of 240 to 226. It now goes to conference, and the President's objection to the literacy test may, or may not, lead to his vetoing the measure if it is retained, as seems certain. We comment on this bill elsewhere.

The Nicaragua treaty has been favorably reported in the Senate. It is proposed, in effect, to establish, with Nicaragua's consent, and through this treaty, an agreement somewhat similar to that existing between the United States and Cuba under the Platt Amendment—that is, Nicaragua would not be at liberty to make treaties with foreign powers which should endanger her own independence or make possible military control by those powers, or to contract debts without reasonable provision for their payment together with interest, and if she violates these principles the United States may intervene. The treaty also provides for the payment of three million dollars to Nicaragua by the United States, in return for which the United States may form a naval base on the Pacific, and is given the exclusive rights to build an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua if it chooses. The Outlook has repeatedly commended this treaty.

REMEDIES FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

Unusual conditions of business depression, caused in part by the war, are presenting to communities all over this country the question of unemployment. Men out of work are draining the resources and the sympathies of people in city, town, and country. This is a matter on which counsel should be taken of those who have thought of the subject and who have dealt with the problem practically. Such experts gathered at the Second National Conference on Unemployment, held in Philadelphia in the last week of December in connection with the annual meeting of the Association on Labor Legislation.

This Conference on Unemployment marked a decided advance over the first, held in New York last February. The dominant theme was no longer extent and cause, but prevention. All of the speakers concurred in the view that the central feature in any adequate programme for dealing with the problem must be a well-organized system of connected public employment bureaus. The benefits to be expected from such a system, as explained by Mr. Charles B. Barnes, Director of the New York State Employment Exchanges, Mr. Walter L. Sears, Superintendent of the New York City Public Employment Bureau, and other experts, are: (1) Information as to the number of the unemployed in different trades and as to the relation this number bears to the opportunities for employment. (2) Saving the waste of time, effort, and money involved in the present plan, when the unemployed worker must

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either tramp the streets in search of a job, or depend upon the costly and inefficient, when not actually dishonest, private employment bureaus. (3) Making possible a separation from the unemployed of those who, because of physical, mental, or moral defects, are really unemployable and who require curative or reformatory treatment. (4) Laying the basis for a system of unemployment insurance.

Though favoring public employment bureaus, the speakers were equally emphatic in insisting that they cannot solve the problem, cannot supply jobs, when, as this winter, jobs are not available. The principal other remedies advocated were, on the one hand, measures serving to regularize industry, and, on the other, unemployment insurance.

"HIRING AND FIRING"

Reports of investigations carried on during the last year under the direction of the American Association for Labor Legislation were submitted, which showed how chaotic are the present methods of "hiring and firing" commonly used, and how responsive employers are showing themselves to suggestions that more considerate methods be substituted. Some truly remarkable results achieved by employers who have systematically tried to regularize their demands for labor were described. It was also brought out that the caprices of consumers, especially of women as regards articles of dress, were largely responsible for present irregularities in the garment, boot and shoe, and other related trades. The organization by New England boot and shoe manufacturers of a styles committee to try to lessen the capricious changes of fashion was commended for imitation by other manufacturers.

It was asserted by representatives of organized labor that the remedies for unemployment were much easier to apply in organized trades than in those in which labor was unorganized. The plan by which the breweries work short time when business is dull without discharging any of their employees was cited, also the system of out-of-work benefits of the printers.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Conceding the importance of efforts to regularize employment and the valuable service to be expected from efficient public employment bureaus, several of the speakers insisted that a considerable amount of unemployment would still persist, and that the only way to prevent this from falling with crushing force on individuals would be through unemployment insurance. One of the reports showed that if the time lost by girls working in certain New York candy factories that were investigated were averaged among all of the employees, it would amount to about fifteen per cent, or about two months a year. If this loss could be shared equally among all of the employees, instead of, as at present, falling very heavily upon some and not at all upon others, and if provision could be made in advance to meet it through the accumulation of an insurance fund, out of which out-of-work benefits could be paid, it is obvious that it would no longer be looked upon as a calamity. Moreover, as was suggested, the English plan of not only requiring employers to contribute one-half of the unemployment insurance funds, but of paying them substantial rebates in case they make fifty consecutive weekly payments on behalf of the same employee, would give them a strong financial motive for regularizing their industry. Under this plan they might be expected to employ the maximum number possible for all but two weeks in the year. Discharge would be much less frequent, and the average period of unemployment might be so distributed as to make it no longer a cause of worry and loss of efficiency, but a welcome holiday on somewhat reduced income.

Though the facts presented showed clearly that unemployment in nearly all parts of the country is more pronounced than last year, the general temper of the discussion at the Conference on Unemployment was optimistic. It was recognized that extraordinary relief measures would have to be taken this winter, but the recent action of Philadelphia in voting $50,000 for this purpose was taken as an augury that the needed relief would be forthcoming. In fact, it seemed to be the general opinion that American communities were aroused to the seriousness of this problem as never before. Several of the speakers whose names appeared on the programme were prevented from attending because of practical measures for the relief of the unemployed in their own communities (as in Chicago, for example) which kept them at home.

Though only one speaker was optimistic enough to claim that we already knew all that needed to be done and that it only remained to do it, there was general approval

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of the constructive programme which had been drawn up by the Association and was distributed for comment and criticism during the meetings. Though only a "tentative draft," the nineteen pages of this "Practical Programme for the Prevention of Unemployment in America" (copies of which may be obtained from the American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East Twenty-third Street, New York) contains the best statement that has been yet put forth of the measures that should be taken—some of them for immediate relief in this critical winter, others involving persistent and continuous measures that call for the active and sustained co-operation of interested citizens over a series of years.

CHILD LABOR AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Great advance has unquestionably been made in the task of combating the evils of child labor. Within a generation children have been emancipated from a great deal of the industrial bondage to which they once were subject. State after State has put laws on its statute-books limiting the age at which children may be legally employed in industry. This advance was reported last week at the eleventh Conference of Child Labor held at Washington. Indeed, a marked improvement within five years was reported.

But the problem is by no means settled. It has now become an inter-State question. Here, for instance, is California, which sets a sixteen-year-old limit. There are forty States, besides the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, that have laws forbidding in mills and factories the employment of children under fourteen. But in North and South Carolina, in Georgia and Alabama, children under fourteen are still permitted to labor in factories ten or twelve hours a day.

What does this mean? It is plain that it means a handicap to those States which have protected their children. If the employers of those children owned the children as they own their live stock or their machinery, there might be some pressure upon them to see that the children were not overworked and injured; but they do not own them. When the children are injured, the employer does not suffer, for he can get other children without the investment of a cent. The State whose children are thus injured suffers; but the industries that employ children profit at the State's expense, and at the expense of industries in other States where intelligent public opinion has put a limit on industry which can do injury to children.

If there is any truth in State rights, it must be found in the right of the State to be protected in its progress. The Federal Constitution prohibits the levying of a tariff between the States, so that a State which has protected its children by law cannot by a tariff act protect the industries from which it has excluded child labor. But the Constitution has given to the Federal Government complete power over inter-State commerce. That power is such that a great judge has declared it to be as if there were no States. If there is disease in the cattle of one State, the Federal Government can prevent cattle from being transported from that State to other States. In this respect the Federal Government's power is absolute. If it can protect cattle, certainly the Federal Government ought to protect children. If a State is willing to allow its own children to be drafted into the industrial army, the Federal Government probably cannot do anything to prevent the State from injuring itself in that way, but it can prevent that State from injuring other States. Thus there has been introduced into Congress a measure known as the Palmer-Owen Child Labor Bill. This measure contains the following provision:

> It shall be unlawful for any producer, manufacturer, or dealer to ship or deliver for shipment in inter-State commerce the products of any mine or quarry which have been produced, in whole or in part, by the labor of children under the age of sixteen years; or the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment which have been produced, in whole or in part, by the labor of children under the age of fourteen years; or by the labor of children between the age of fourteen and sixteen years who work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any one week, or after the hour of seven o'clock post meridian, or before the hour of seven o'clock ante meridian.

In fulfillment of its obligation to protect the States in their rights against injury through neglect of other States the Congress of the United States should pass the Palmer-Owen Bill.

MISSIONS IN TURKEY

Reports of the disturbed political and industrial conditions in Turkey have led many persons to suppose that educational and religious work in that country has come to a

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standstill. This is not the case; on the contrary, according to a just-published statement of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, it would seem as if the Turkish people were in closer touch than ever with the missionaries, especially with the Americans.

It is true that for a time Americans in Turkey had to write their letters in French, German, or Arabic. But that did not prevent their sending news of their safety, of the large attendance at their schools, and of the unusual opportunities for religious work, any more than did the failure of postal and banking connections prevent Mr. Peet, the treasurer of the American Board at Constantinople, from sending money into the interior. As he could no longer mail drafts, he simply deposited sums with the Evkaf, the religious treasury in Constantinople, and the Mohammedan authorities in the interior paid over the designated amounts to the mission treasurers.

Reports from practically every one of the Board's twenty stations in Turkey indicate that the work is going on as usual. In a letter to The Outlook the Rev. Dr. Barton, Secretary of the Board, says: "No missionary reports any consciousness or fear of personal danger. The Turkish officials have been unusually friendly and cordial. The other day in Smyrna, where the strain has been greatest, and where for a time it was feared that the civil Governor would take a stand in direct opposition to our own work and to the safety of foreigners in the country, the Governor spent two hours with President MacLachlan, of the International College, in very friendly converse; and the military Commander of the Fourth Army Corps was also there as a guest."

TURKISH LAWS FOR FOREIGNERS

The unconfirmed rumor that sums have been demanded of foreign institutions in Turkey as contributions really to meet the expenses of the war, though levied under the name of "back taxes," calls attention to the laws under which foreigners in general and Americans in particular live in the Turkish Empire.

Before Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453 certain concessions were given to different classes of people under which they lived and did business in the Greek Empire. These concessions were renewed and even enlarged by the Turks. The first was that granted to the Greeks, followed by those granted to the Armenians, the Jews, and the Protestants. These concessions became known as capitulations. The Turkish Government granted them because it saw that Mohammedan law could not be applied equally to non-Mohammedan races, and that if non-Mohammedans were to live under Turkish law and enjoy the privileges of Turkish government it could be done only through special concessions to each different class or nationality.

Hence the abrogation of these capitulations, or concessions, which have been enjoyed for centuries by some of these races, will make it difficult to apply strictly Mohammedan law to Greeks and Armenians, Jews and Protestants. It may be, however, that the Turks intend to apply the abrogation of the capitulations only to foreigners who are not Turkish subjects, allowing the present relations existing between the Turkish Government and its non-Mohammedan subjects to continue as they are.

At all events, the Grand Vizier and other high Turkish officials have repeatedly assured our Ambassador that the abrogation of the capitulations would make no difference whatever in the relation either of the American institutions in Turkey to the Government, or even of the Government to any Americans connected with those institutions.

As a matter of fact, the American colleges and schools in Turkey have been established, not under capitulations, but under Turkish law. All land has been bought and the schools have been recognized according to the laws of Turkey; indeed, a large number of the schools are operating under special charters given by Turkey establishing the schools' standard and status.

THE NEW LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND

The Earl of Aberdeen has resigned the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and in recognition of his distinguished services in that capacity, as well as of those during his term of office as Governor of Canada (1893–1898), King George has deservedly elevated him to the rank of a Marquis.

In 1886 Lord Aberdeen was for six months Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; his present term dates from 1905, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a Liberal Ministry. It is not too much to say that no occupants of

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Dublin Castle have ever, by far-sighted social and charitable work, done more for the people of Ireland than have the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen. The Countess, now the Marchioness, is specially well known in this country, which she has repeatedly visited in the interest of various social endeavors. It is to be hoped that the new Lord Lieutenant will have as intelligent a grasp of affairs and as broad human sympathies as has his predecessor.

The new incumbent is to be Baron Wimborne, well known in this country because of his plucky achievement in bringing the Hurlingham Polo Team here last year and capturing the International Cup. Two previous English teams, in challenging for that cup, had met defeat. Lord Wimborne began his work by an extensive winter training season in Spain. Despite this display of energy, he had to meet much adverse English public opinion, discouraged by the repeated defeats in America. A more notable check, however, occurred when the redoubtable player, Captain Cheape, was injured in practice here. Nevertheless the English won; and the credit is due in chief measure to Lord Wimborne's indomitable grit.

The new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has hitherto been known as Lord Ashby St. Ledgers. He succeeded to the title only last year. The Wimborne London residence is in Arlington Street, and is accounted one of the great Liberal rallying-grounds. Doubtless Lord and Lady Wimborne will revive some of the ancient glories of Dublin Castle in so far as social and sporting activities are concerned; it is confidently anticipated, however, that the new Lord Lieutenant will prove an efficient and successful executive.

SIR HENRY NEWBOLT

The list of men to whom titles are given by the King of England can almost always be sharply divided into two classes—those upon whom the honor confers distinction and those who confer distinction upon the honor. No one will question the statement that Sir Henry Newbolt belongs in the latter class. Henry Newbolt—his newly acquired Sir has still the unfamiliar ring that clings to the transformation of J. M. Barrie into Sir James—belongs in the very front rank of English poets, and that his knighthood should be given him at this particular time seems peculiarly appropriate. The singer of England's naval victories in verses stirring in theme and strikingly individual in manner, the laureate of Drake, Nelson, and Hawke, Sir Henry must find himself in a familiar world when he turns from his own vivid descriptions of the past to the present day, when sentries are again patrolling the shores upon which Drake played at bowls while the Spanish Armada awaited his convenience.

Perhaps, too, there comes to the English sailors in the North Sea that vision of the little Admiral whom Newbolt has sung as the avatar of the English navy:

"Stand by to reckon up your battle-ships—
Ten, twenty, thirty, there they go.
Brag about your cruisers like leviathans—
A thousand men apiece down below.
But here's just one little Admiral,
We're all of us his brothers and his sons,
And he's worth, O he's worth at the very least
Double all your tons and all your guns.

. . . . . .

There are queer things that only come to sailormen;
They're true, but they're never understood;
And I know one thing about the Admiral,
That I can't tell rightly as I should.
I've been with him when hope sank under us—
He hardly seemed a mortal like the rest,
I could swear that he had stars upon his uniform,
And one sleeve pinned across his breast.

Some day we're bound to sight the enemy,
He's coming, though he hasn't yet a name.
Keel to keel and gun to gun he'll challenge us
To meet him at the Great Armada game.
None knows what may be the end of it,
But we'll all give our bodies and our souls
To see the little Admiral a-playing him
A rubber of the old Long Bowls!"

A REMARKABLE LETTER ON THE JAPANESE QUESTION

In our issue of December 23 we had the pleasure of printing an article entitled "Japan's Platonic War with Germany," by Miss Eliza R. Scidmore, who is recognized in the Far East as one of the foremost of American authorities on Japan and Japanese affairs. She was in Japan at the time of the declaration of war, and has only recently returned to the United States. We have just received the following letter from Miss Scidmore regarding that article:

I have wanted to write to you and thank you for the length you allowed my article in The Outlook, and also to tell you of the remarkable response I have had from readers.

I had no idea how widely The Outlook was read in Washington until people began telling

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me right and left every time I went out of the house that they had read it. I have had letters from all around the country, some touching ones from Japanese students.

Miss Janet Richards read part of it at her Current Events class of four hundred women here on Monday morning, December 28, and the Washington "Post" reprints the article entire in this morning's issue. I am mailing to you the paper by this post. What is best of all is that so many people tell me that it is an entire revelation and illumination of Japan's reasons for entering the war and her part therein. No one at all, for instance, seems to have known about the thirty-two transports of thirty-five thousand Australian troops that the Japanese fleet escorted through to Suez. I am to speak to the ladies of the Washington Club next Tuesday, and my plea is chiefly for talk of "Peace with Japan," instead of this incessant talk and headlines of "War with Japan." The headliners are the greatest offenders. The peace societies should make them their special charge. There the greatest danger lies, the greatest harm is being done.

Miss Scidmore's friendship for Japan is not based on sentimentality, but on common sense, a sound knowledge of Japan and its people, and a perfectly outspoken insistence that the rights of each country shall be respected by the other.

We are indeed gratified by Miss Scidmore's striking testimony to the fact that The Outlook is read widely and with interest "all over the country" by the best representatives of American public opinion. This is peculiarly a time when every American may be glad to have a share in fostering and promoting friendly political, national, personal, and commercial relations with Japan.

AMERICAN GENEROSITY

The New York "Times" prints a very interesting report of donations and bequests for educational and charitable uses made by Americans in 1914. In his "French Traits" Mr. Brownell pointed out years ago the reason why many successful men in France became sordid; misers are by no means unknown in that country. In this country, on the other hand, while there is a great difference in the generosity of people, misers are so rare that the type seldom appears in our fiction or on our stage; and the American habit of giving disproves the charge, so long and so widely made in Europe, that Americans are mere money-getters and money-lovers. That they are shrewd money-getters nobody will deny; but Americans who know the country have long known that it is much more the fun of playing the game than the stakes that holds an army of men in their offices long after they have secured financial independence. To-day the habit of giving is almost universal; and in the future, when the story of this generation is written, the service that has been rendered by great fortunes to the public in many ways, which is now obscured, will be recognized as one of the salient features of the time.

It is interesting to note that the gifts of 1914 nearly doubled those of 1913—$315,000,000 as compared with $169,841,442 in 1913. The city of New York alone has sent cash contributions to foreign sufferers of more than three million dollars, besides donations of clothing, foodstuffs, and supplies of various kinds, the value of which has not been estimated. Among the large givers one finds the familiar names of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie.

Among the donors of the year are many names not familiar to the country at large. Mr. James Campbell, the St. Louis banker and railway man, left his entire estate, valued at $16,000,000, to the St. Louis University; Mr. William Hood Dunwoody, of Minneapolis, left $6,000,000 to education and charity; Mr. George H. Herman, of Houston, Texas, left $3,000,000 to public institutions in that city; Mr. Ginn, the Boston publisher, left $1,000,000 for the World Peace Foundation. The Ford Company, through profit-sharing methods and a minimum daily wage, disbursed about $10,000,000 among its workers.

Among women the principal givers have been Mrs. Morris K. Jesup, of New York, who left her entire estate, estimated at $8,450,000, for charitable and educational purposes. Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of New York, gave nearly four millions to various charitable institutions; Mrs. Shippen, of Philadelphia, gave more than a million to churches, hospitals, and other institutions; and Mrs. Amelia G. Cutter left $1,000,000 for the relief of the poor.

Seven universities received $1,000,000 each; the aggregate gifts to universities and colleges amounted to $75,000,000, and the institutions aided represented nearly every section of the country. The report of the year's giving is significant not only of the growing consciousness of obligation to the community on the part of people of great wealth, but also as showing that all parts of the country furnish givers according to their

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means, and that generosity is a National and not a sectional trait.

VIOLIN TEACHING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The experiment of violin instruction to large classes in the public schools is now before the people of the city of New York. Fourteen years ago Mrs. Sheperley, of Liverpool, England, won the consent of the head master of a school in that city to teach the violin to all who wanted it at a fee so small that the poorest might participate.

Messrs. Rushworth & Draepel, dealers in instruments and publishers as well, agreed to furnish instruments, music, and other materials for Mrs. Sheperley at trade cost. These gentlemen took great care to deliver instruments in perfect playing condition, and sent their men with every consignment to remain throughout the first lesson to make repairs. Every teacher who can imagine giving a first lesson to fifty children upon fifty raw violins knows what invaluable aid that would have been could he have had it.

Mrs. Sheperley found that the exercises and melodies practicable for classes of forty or fifty pupils had to be created to meet the needs of an exceptional situation. She prepared and Messrs. Rushworth & Draepel printed these lessons at once as they were needed. With this good equipment and efficient help Mrs. Sheperley secured immediate success with the army of eager children who thronged to her.

The College of Music and the Board of Schools of Liverpool were startled and indignant upon discovering the lusty movement which they had not fathered, and called its founder to account. But when they had carefully examined the new branch of education they lent it their hearty support. The College of Music opened its list of violin scholarships to the crowds of public school players, and one or two scholarships are won yearly by children trained in these huge classes.

In London the movement has attained such proportions that the figures given are astonishing. Violin fests are held in which the schools contest for prizes, and in June, 1914, a concert was given in which the programme was played by 6,220 children in concert.

In London, as in Liverpool, one large, responsible firm of dealers in instruments devotes its entire plant to the needs of the several thousand little violinists. This factor in the success of London's experiment cannot be overestimated. It is of prime importance and is second only to the efficiency of the teacher.

After fourteen years this movement, so full of possibilities, has awakened interest and has secured a footing in New York. Dr. Rix, the Board of Supervisors, and their corps of violin teachers are attacking the experiment with a heartiness which should win success. Once that success is secured, the way will be open to possibilities of considerable magnitude.

TERROR IN THE SUBWAY

The people of New York City, on Wednesday of last week, were dismayed and affrighted at the reports of a subway disaster unparalleled in the history of New York underground railways. At first it was believed that scores of lives had been lost; as we write it seems probable that only one person, a woman, was killed outright, although other victims, overcome by smoke, are in precarious condition in the hospitals.

It would be hard to exaggerate the terror of the hundreds of people in stalled trains close to the point (between the stations at Fiftieth and Fifty-ninth Streets) at which a "blow-out" in a power cable had cut off all power for miles. Fumes from the burned-out cable were mingled with dense smoke, and both combined to overpower the helpless passengers who were suddenly plunged in darkness. By the skill and courage of the Fire Department the passengers were extricated through manholes and places broken through in the street; many scores were taken to the hospitals, to offices, drug-stores, and theaters; pulmotors were brought from all directions to restore respiration; little by little the work of extrication and rescue proceeded; that there was panic, trampling, and struggling is not surprising.

Meanwhile the traffic of the subway was stopped; frightened crowds as far away as Brooklyn and the Bronx were kept back from their work, travel, or homes; disorder, confusion, and distress were everywhere evident.

It is impossible offhand to discuss intelligently the causes of this terror-inspiring disaster, or to say how it might have been averted. It is to be assumed that the Pub-

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lic Service Commission will institute such an investigation as will satisfy the people of New York whether all such precautions and devices are now in force as will reduce the possibility of such occurrences to a minimum. Not until American ingenuity, liberal expenditure, and scientific efficiency have really done their utmost should the fight be given up to make the safety of the millions of subway passengers a thing of certainty, or as near certainty as may be humanly possible.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

It is assumed in certain quarters that all war is unchristian, that no intelligent and consistent follower of Jesus Christ can engage in war as a soldier or give either moral sympathy or material aid to the soldier in the field. We believe that this assumption has no warrant in either the teachings or the example of Jesus Christ, and in this article we propose to give to our readers the reasons for our judgment that it is sometimes the Christian duty of an individual, sometimes the Christian duty of a nation, to fight.

The assumption that all fighting is wrong, in so far as it depends for its support on specific instructions, is based on the following passage: "Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

Wrongs by personal violence, wrongs by legal procedure, wrongs by governmental oppression, seem to be covered by this general prohibition to resist not evil. There is something to be said for the position of those literalists who contend that Jesus Christ counsels submission, not resistance, to personal wrong. But there is nothing in this instruction which justifies even the most extreme literalist in the conclusion that he must not resist wrong threatened to others. "The truth of his teaching," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "would seem to be this: in our own person and fortune, we should be ready to accept and to pardon all; it is *our* cheek we are to turn, *our* coat that we are to give away to the man who has taken our cloak. But when another's face is buffeted, perhaps a little of the lion will become us best. That we are to suffer others to be injured, and stand by, is not conceivable, and surely not desirable."

We affirm without hesitation that there is nothing in this teaching nor in any other teaching of Jesus Christ, and nothing in his example, and nothing in the instructions of his Apostles, to justify the assumption that we are to suffer others to be injured and stand by unresisting.

But the assumption that all war is unchristian rests in most minds not on any specific instructions, but on the general teaching and spirit of the Master. It is asked: Is not all anger wrong? And is not war always the expression of anger? To both questions we reply, emphatically, No.

All anger is not wrong. When Christ condemns him who is angry with his brother *without cause*, his language clearly implies the truth that one may have good cause for being angry with his brother. When it is said by his biographer that he looked upon the Pharisees with anger, it is clear that not only was he angry, but so angry that his anger was apparent to the bystanders. Who can read his invective against the men who devoured widows' houses, and for a pretense made long prayers—an invective unparalleled in its intensity of passion by any literature of invective, ancient or modern—and not perceive the anger of Jesus against these religious oppressors of their brethren? Who can read the story of his attack upon the corruptionists who, by the extortion which they practiced upon the worshipers, turned the temple of God into a den of thieves, and drove them from it, overturning the tables of the money-changers as he went, and not see in this incident the dramatic portrayal of a terrible anger? It is not an unreasonable surmise that it was this scene which suggested to John on the Isle of Patmos the likeness to his Master in the One whom he saw in his vision with a voice as the sound of many waters and with eyes that burned like flaming fire.

"Be ye angry and sin not" is the Apostle's summary of Christian teaching. There is an anger which is not sinful, but virtuous. Not all anger, but selfish anger, is wrong; as not all acquisition but selfish acquisition, not all ambition but self-seeking ambition, not all appetite but self-indulgent appetite. We love Washington the more because of his

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flaming anger against Lee in the battle of Monmouth; not because this was an exhibition of human sinfulness, but because it was the manifestation of a human virtue.

Nor is fighting always a manifestation of anger; it is sometimes a superb manifestation of self-denying love. This is our answer to the statement, "We should love our enemies instead of preparing to fight them." There are times when the best way to show our love for a man is by fighting him.

If one sees his neighbor attempting suicide, rushes upon him, resists the evil which he is attempting to do himself, and, at the hazard of his own life, wrests the pistol from him, does this act show hate or love?

If he sees his neighbor attempting to commit a murder, rushes in between the assailant and the assailed, and, at the hazard of his life, prevents the perpetration of the crime, does his act indicate hate or love? He has, in the act of saving one man from being murdered, saved another man from committing a murder. His service to the assailant is certainly not less than his service to the assailed. It is easily conceivable that the assailant might be his own son, and that his love for the assailant was his chief motive.

A policeman who, at the hazard of his life, rescues a victim from the mob shows a heroism of love not less than does the fireman who saves a victim from the burning building, or a life-saver who saves a sailor from the surf on a storm-swept coast.

It is as Christian an act to save men from the attack of savages as from the attack of wolves.

When a little nation is threatened with destruction by a stronger nation and puts up a heroic fight to defend its right to exist—rather, let us say, its duty to exist—Christian heroism will inspire a strong neighbor to interpose an arm of defense. Whether it is a duty or not to interpose will depend upon circumstances; but it is either unintelligence or carelessness or cowardice which prevents all Christian peoples everywhere sympathizing with the assailed and hoping for the success of its defenders.

Are not these extraordinary exceptions to the general rule? Is not war almost universally the expression of hate?

No!

The war which the armies of Cromwell fought for civil liberty in England, the war which the armies of William of Orange fought for religious liberty in Holland, the war which the armies of George Washington fought for political liberty in America, were wars of love, not of hate; of service, not of selfishness.

Abraham Lincoln was the great statesman of the North in the Civil War, General Grant its great soldier, Henry Ward Beecher one of its greatest interpreters. One would look in vain in either the utterances or the acts of Abraham Lincoln, General Grant, or Henry Ward Beecher for any expression of hatred for the South. Expressions of hatred for the South were common in the North, but they did not express the dominant sentiment of the North. Hatred seeks revenge, and not even the assassination of Abraham Lincoln incited the North to take revenge. After the war closed no Southern life was taken, no Southern property was confiscated, in vengeance for the attempted secession. On the contrary, even before it closed, the North began to pour into the South contributions of money, food, and clothing for the succor of the devastated South, and then teachers to aid in laying the foundations of a new prosperity. The millions which it had expended in the campaign of arms it followed with other millions lavished in a campaign of education.

Philosophy does not justify the statement that all anger is wrong.

History does not justify the statement that all war is the expression of anger.

It is not true that we cannot both love our enemies and fight them. Fighting them may render them the highest service. The long wars of the allies against Napoleonic France redeemed France from despotism and enabled her to become a Republic. The war of the American colonists against Great Britain revolutionized Great Britain's colonial policy, and prepared the way for the new type of administration which has given her a colonial empire. The American Civil War rendered a greater service to the South than to the North. The South's prosperity dates from Appomattox Court-House. If the Allies succeed in the present war, they will render an incalculable service to Germany.

The disciples of Christ are not mistaken in singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and "The Son of God Goes Forth to War." These hymns are not the expression of an unmeaning sentimentalism. There is nothing paradoxical in the Christian character and the soldierly careers of General Havelock and General Howard. The spirit of

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Christianity is not inconsistent with the spirit which fights to the death to save the oppressed from the oppressor. A noble expression of the Christian spirit is the line:

"As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

THE POLICE IN A DEMOCRACY

The Police Commissioner of New York City has been attacked in a statement issued by the counsel of four great voluntary organizations within the police force itself. The fact that one of these organizations has repudiated the statement of their paid representative does not alter its real significance. The very fact that such a statement was possible at all is a symptom of great danger. Such a thing would not be possible if there did not exist among the members of the police force a feeling of security in their own position much stronger than any feeling of respect for authority. A condition of affairs which makes such feeling possible is full of peril.

If the experiment of self-government is going to succeed, it must be made to succeed in America's cities. The reason why self-government has not yet wholly emerged from the experimental stage is because it has been as yet far from successful in municipal government. In no respect is this more obvious than in the management of the police.

New York City's police problem is notorious—and it is typical. Partnership between members of the police force and criminals, against whom the police are enlisted to protect the city, has again and again been revealed. Indeed, on the part of some of the powerful members of this force such a partnership has been reduced to organization, so that it is popularly known as "the system." It is as if there existed in the French army a secret but recognized organization, consisting of officers high in command, with the well-understood object of making pecuniary profit by giving countenance and aid to the invaders. No one who is well informed believes that this system comprises a majority of the force; but no one can rehearse the record of police doings in New York City without being convinced that this "system" does exist and is powerful. The consequence is that a great many people within the city are suspicious of the very men who are placed in authority for their protection.

If democracy is to succeed in the United States, it must devise some means of creating in every city a police force that the people of the city will trust. In order to do this democracy must find some means of making sure that those whom it places in command of the police will be obeyed. This means that the Police Commissioner must be more powerful than any of his subordinates or any group of his subordinates.

In New York City the Commissioner is not more powerful than his subordinates. His hold on his office is very precarious, and he can be easily removed for political or any other reasons. The policeman's hold on his office, on the other hand, is very firm. He cannot be removed, even for cause, unless upon evidence that will satisfy a court of law. He may prove to be an unfaithful public servant, unworthy of confidence, disposed to insubordination toward his superiors and tyranny toward his inferiors; but unless he can be convicted by evidence that is admissible in criminal proceedings he can defy his commander. It is not surprising under such circumstances that the counsel for the four police associations, William B. Ellison, should feel free to give out a statement that contains the following passage:

"Commissioner Woods has his future in his own hands. If he will meet the men fairly, . . . he will have the support of the men and his administration will be successful. But the fact is that there is more or less dissatisfaction with his administration. This is already very apparent. It is not a silent or stifled feeling of resentment against him, but it is voiced through committees and publicly talked about. The Commissioner is on trial, and it will take a little time for him to demonstrate his fitness for the job he holds."

Such a statement from an official representative of the subordinates of the man criticised, if issued on behalf of a body of military men and directed against the commander of their army, would be regarded as an exhibition of insolence demanding summary court martial. Mr. Ellison himself, in his own statement, put his finger on the disease of which his statement is a symptom. "In thirteen years," says this counsel for the police associations, "we have had ten Commissioners and forty Deputy Commissioners. . . . Each one of these men had his own views, and every one of the eleven thousand men of the force was sup-

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posed to know what these views were and carry them out." Mr. Ellison might have added that these men knew that if they did not carry them out nothing very serious would happen, because another Commissioner with another set of views would very soon succeed the one in office.

There is only one cure for this state of affairs. It is the simple one of giving to the man in command more authority and more security in office than to his subordinates. That is what the so-called Goethals bills in the New York Legislature last year were designed to do. In some important details The Outlook would have preferred some alterations in these bills, but the general principle incorporated in them was wholly sound. Of course those policemen who profit by present conditions opposed these bills, and, to the shame of the State and the city, police influence was permitted to defeat them. In their defeat Mr. Ellison had a share. He criticises the temporary character of the Commissionership, but in his statement he calls "outrageous" the only bills which had a fair chance of putting an end to the evils he criticises.

Incidentally it may be worth while to point out another inconsistency in Mr. Ellison's statement. He justly asserts that the order issued by Mayor Gaynor forbidding the policemen to use their night-sticks put the policemen at the mercy of thugs and ruffians, and he makes this an occasion for criticism of Commissioner Woods in face of the fact that since Mr. Woods came into office this order of Mayor Gaynor's has not been in effect.

In all this there is a lesson not only for New York City but for all American cities. The police should be on a military basis. The Commissioner should be a permanent official, removable only for cause established by due procedure, and no more subject to political influences than the general in command of an army division. No policeman should have a legal vested right in his office. He should no more have the right to appeal to the civil courts than has the soldier who is discharged in dishonor from the army. If he asks for trial, his appeal should be solely to a court martial constituted within the police force itself. The decision of such a police court martial should be reviewable by no civil authority except the Mayor or Police Commissioner. Whatever rights to participation in the pension fund of the police a member of the force secures by service ought to be guarded by some other means than keeping him on the force when his usefulness is ended and when discipline and the good of the service require his discharge.

The great body of policemen in New York, we have reason to believe, deserve the confidence of the people of the city; but they will not have that confidence, and they cannot have it, until the unworthy members of the force are removed, and the Commissioner and the Mayor, who are responsible to the people, are given adequate authority.

IMMIGRATION

Nobody wants to exclude from the United States all aliens; nobody wants to admit all. On one point, then, Americans may be said to be united with reference to an immigration policy—in holding that some aliens should be admitted and some excluded. The whole immigration question thus resolves itself into one of determining how we shall discriminate between the aliens to be accepted and the aliens to be rejected.

On this question of discrimination difference of opinion in America, however, is not superficial; it is radical. The bill that is now before Congress, having last week passed the Senate, has called out an expression of this radical disagreement. It has clearly shown that Americans differ not merely on the question of the expediency of adopting one or another of a multitude of devices proposed, but on their fundamental attitude toward the immigrant.

On the one side there are those who regard immigration as primarily a source of danger. On the other side, there are those who regard immigration as primarily a source of strength. In one category belong those Americans who look upon the immigrant with suspicion, and wonder whether he ought not to have been kept out. In the other category are those Americans who look upon the immigrant with welcome, and are glad that he has proved himself worthy to come in.

A professor of history once said that the bloodiest religious wars had been fought over differences of emphasis. So we may say that this radical cleavage in American public opinion separates those who lay the emphasis on exclusion from those who lay the emphasis on admission.

Those who regard immigration as a source

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of danger see danger in mere numbers. It is the horde that they fear—the swamping of our civilization by aliens in the mass. Their rule would be: Reduce the numbers and you reduce the danger.

Those who thus see primarily danger in immigration see also special danger in new forms of immigration. The more unfamiliar the type of immigrant, the more dangerous he seems to be. The American of English descent sees no danger in the English immigrant; the American of Irish descent sees no danger in the incoming man or woman of Ireland; the American of German descent sees no danger from the immigrant of Teutonic origin. On the whole, Americans see no great dangers from any of those peoples who have already become incorporated in the American population—the English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and, on account of early colonial experiences, the Dutch and French; but it is the newer comers that excite distrust—to some degree the Italians and Portuguese, to whom we have not yet become altogether accustomed; and, to a much larger degree, the Jews from Russia, Rumania, and Poland, the Hungarians, Poles, and other Slavs, the Armenians and Greeks. So those who regard immigration as primarily a source of danger see special danger in mere unfamiliarity. It is the stranger that they fear. Their rule would be: Retard the incoming of the newer, stranger types, and you reduce the danger.

Those who look upon immigration in this way are favorably inclined to any method of exclusion that promises to be effective. Whether that method is a good one or not depends in their view not so much upon whether it will select the good from the bad, as upon whether it will reduce the number of immigrants and whether it will keep out especially the immigrants of a newer type.

It is the point of view of the exclusionists, if we may so term those who look at immigration in this way, that is embodied in the Immigration Bill just passed by the Senate. This fact is shown in most of the chief provisions of the bill, but is most emphatically shown in the provision that would establish the literacy test.

According to this provision no alien adult could be admitted without passing an examination in the reading of some language. With a few and not important exceptions all illiterate aliens over sixteen years of age would be excluded. This test would unquestionably have the effect of appreciably reducing the number of immigrants, and especially of keeping out the immigrants of the newer and stranger type. In the early days of the country it was natural that emigration should be particularly marked from those countries in which education created discontent and a spirit of pioneering; it was natural that this migratory movement should not affect until later the countries in which education was less common. It is the people, then, who are coming to this land of promise from countries in which there is the least promise who would chiefly be affected by this literacy test—and these are the people who seem strangest to us. The literacy test is thus typical of the exclusionist view.

Over against this point of view, with its distrust of the immigrant and the consequent policy of exclusion, is the point of view which we like to think is more truly American.

It is not in numbers that the danger lies, and not even in racial or national types, but in the immigrant's character. The ideal immigration policy would keep out *all* the bad; but it equally would admit *all* the good.

Who constitute the good immigrants?

First, those who are constitutionally sound in health. Health is essential for two reasons: physical weakness and disease do not constitute a good heritage for future generations, and they do not constitute a help in the building up of the country. This Nation has a right to say that it will not turn itself into an almshouse for the support of those aliens who cannot support themselves; and it has the duty of saying that it must protect from disease and physical weakness those who are already here and their descendants.

Second, those who have the energy, foresight, and thrift to undertake the search for their own fortunes in a strange land, and to provide themselves with what is necessary for that undertaking.

Third, those who have good moral character and are free from the blight of crime or vice.

Fourth, those who are desirous and capable of becoming American citizens, and whose descendants are likely to become assimilated into the still formative National race of America.

Illiteracy is no test of physical fitness—that is evident. It is no test of enterprise, for the man who has not learned to read may never have had the chance to learn, however enterprising he may be. It is no test of character; for the criminal may be the more dangerous because he is literate. It is

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no test of the power of a man or his descendants to become truly American; for, though illiteracy is an obstacle to democracy, it is an obstacle that can be removed by the simple process of education.

What are the constructive and practical principles upon which the exclusion and admission of aliens should be based will be discussed in another editorial.

In the interest not only of those aliens who are looking across the ocean to America as a land of promise, but also in the interest of America herself, this Immigration Bill, passed by the House of Representatives and amended and passed by the Senate, should be defeated. If it cannot be defeated by the failure of the House and the Senate to agree, it can be, and we hope it will be, defeated by the interposition of President's Wilson's veto.

LAWS AND CHARACTER

Mr. Oliver Herford has a genius for turning staid proverbs into merry wisdom and bending experience to the joy as well as the instruction of the race. In this country, where many of us are so intent on educating ourselves that we cannot keep our hands off other people and are always trying to impose our wisdom on them, the philosopher who touches experience with a light hand and refrains from oppressing his fellows even in the interests of virtue adds to the joy of living, but goes largely unrewarded.

Life is certainly not a playground; but neither is it a penitentiary. If some people are "too much at ease in Zion," many people have such a genius for making others uncomfortable that they are open to the suspicion of adding to the discomfort of the stool of penitence for the pleasure of it. To make virtue more difficult than it is, is neither wise nor helpful; and it must not be forgotten that the real object of bringing the sinner to repentance is his deliverance from evil, not the pleasure of seeing him in sackcloth and ashes. The fatted calf was killed for the prodigal; there was so much pleasure in getting him back that his wandering was remembered only by himself. Putting thorns in the path of the returning sinner is itself a sin, often of ignorance, but sometimes of satisfaction in the humiliation of a fellow-sinner who has gone further in the wrong way than some of the rest of us.

The fight against evil is one of the chief occupations of the world, but there is a choice of methods. Some evils can be overcome by law, and at this moment many people seem to believe that the salvation of men is merely a matter of passing laws. As a result the country writes about twenty-five thousand laws a year, and is the greatest lawbreaker in the world! And the reason for this curious contradiction is obvious: our laws are far in advance of our character! We are trying to do by statute many things which can be done only by moral education.

Some one described the people who are voluble in pious talk and slovenly in conduct as having been "ironed before they were washed." We are doing a great deal of ironing in this country, but we need washing a great deal more than we need ironing. A man of wide observation recently said that the country is suffering chiefly from dishonesty, not of a class but of all classes, not of a section but of all sections. There is a great capital of integrity in this country, but there is also an immense amount of dishonesty. It is easy to point out the sins of the capitalists; the searchlight has been on them for a long time past; but the official reports on short weights and measures, on the adulteration of foods and medicines, on the use of drugs, on petty peculation in small as well as large communities in dealing with community affairs, show how widespread among the poor as well as among the rich, in the country as well as in the cities, is the lack of simple, elementary integrity. Many people are eloquent in denouncing railways, but regard the cheating of a road out of a fare as an achievement to be privately celebrated. We need laws, but our need of character is a great deal more pressing; we need the preaching of righteousness to others, but we need, above all things, to practice righteousness ourselves.

If we preached less and practiced more, the country would be not only a much better but a much pleasanter place to live in. It sometimes seems as if the Puritan habit of defining the will of God for other people had survived the Puritan endeavor to obey that will. If we were more eager to be good ourselves and less bent on making others good there would be fewer murders, breaches of trust, divorces, and mean little dishonesties in the country. "Make truth lovely, and do not try to arm her," is a rule of life as sound as it is winning and Christlike.

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON AND GEORGE KENNAN

I—A REVIEW OF THE WEEK

BY GREGORY MASON

THE twenty-second week of the war—December 30 to January 6—which nearly coincided with the first week of 1915, was marked by a good deal of action. It is true that in Flanders and along the northern slant of the French battle-line persistent bad weather kept the infantry pretty close to their trenches, while the artillery of both sides was banging half blindly through the mists; but in Alsace the French followed up their December advance and captured the town of Steinbach and the seemingly impregnable German positions near Cernay, and began a drive toward Colmar, on the road to Strassburg, the capital of the lost province. All Paris is a-tremble, expectantly waiting till she can fairly exult at a solid step toward the *revanche*. In the Caucasus the Russians and Turks fought in Russian territory with results yet uncertain. Austria had apparently abandoned her Servian campaign to concentrate her forces against Russia, but, despite this act of desperation, which opened the way for another invasion of the Dual Monarchy by the "Heroic Guardian of the Balkans," the Czar's thousands were reported sweeping through Carpathian passes into Hungary and overrunning Bukowina. The Germans made material gains in another advance on long-coveted Warsaw.

THE LOSS OF THE FORMIDABLE

The most dramatic event of the week was the destruction of the British battle-ship Formidable in the Channel somewhere off the Devon coast, with the loss of all but 200 of her complement of 750 men. The British Admiralty, as we go to press, has not announced whether the ship got her death-blow from a mine or a submarine, but Berlin is claiming another triumph for her fleet of power-driven steel whales, and Paris despatches reinforce this claim. This *coup* puts Germany ahead in the naval duel with England, which bids fair to match for bitterness if not for duration the ancient rivalry between Carthage and Rome; for while Germany has lost thirty war-ships to England's seventeen, in men, tonnage, and armament Great Britain's loss is the greater. However, it will be remembered that in the House of Commons on November 27, after the blowing up of the battle-ship Bulwark, a sister ship of the Formidable, Winston Churchill declared that so great was England's superiority in the number of war-ships under construction that she could afford to lose a superdreadnought each month for a year, even if Germany lost none, and yet maintain the same advantage which she held on August 4, 1914.

Indeed, within a year England will have added fifteen battle-ships to her fleet while Germany is adding three, and Germany must accelerate her "campaign of attrition" or her efforts will be wasted.

To maintain her control of the sea Great Britain must be, and is, willing to sustain a number of annoying blows like the loss of the Aboukir, Cressy, and Hogue, and of the Audacious and the Formidable. Nevertheless, there are several aspects of this latest loss which must try the tempers of the English Admiralty. If a submarine accounted for the Formidable, then the mine field laid by the English north of the Straits of Dover to keep these craft out of the Channel has failed in its purpose. There has already been evidence that German submarines have succeeded in keeping a patrol in the Channel—either by diving under the mines or slipping through them—in the torpedoing of the refugee ship Admiral Ganteaume and the sinking of the cruiser Hermes and the gunboat Niger, as well as the destruction of the merchant ships Malachite and Primo off Havre. As nearly as one can determine, the Formidable went down at a point more than three hundred miles from the Belgian coast and more than five hundred miles from Germany's closest naval base. If she and the Audacious, which sank off the north coast of Ireland, were done for by submarines, the Germans are to be congratulated upon their daring in venturing so far abroad with these little gadflies of the sea. But even yet it will not do to herald the passing of the modern battle-ship before the submarine, for the English cruiser raids in the Bight of Heligoland in August and against

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Cuxhaven the other day proved that it is possible for alert seamen in high-speed warships to keep out of the way of the slow-moving submarines.

On the other hand, if the Formidable was sunk by a mine, two explanations are possible. Either some of the British mines in the Straits of Dover have slipped their moorings and drifted east, or a German mine-layer, perhaps under neutral colors, has evaded the vigilance of the British patrol ships. Incidentally, although no one not in the confidence of the British Admiralty knows the exact disposition of these ships, or of the other vessels of the English fleet, the presence of the Audacious off North Ireland and of the Formidable near the Devon shore may indicate that Great Britain is keeping a large proportion of her navy near her own coasts. However that may be, the sporadic blowing up of English ships by hostile torpedoes and mines cannot be improving the *morale* of the men on the great gray ships cruising back and forth in the damp murk off the shores of the "tight little island."

"FOOTBALL" IN FLANDERS

The only claims of gains by either the Germans or the Allies along the muddy battle-line from the Aisne to the North Sea sound like the telegraphic reports of the progress of a football game. "Fifty yards, fifty yards, fifty yards onward," is the refrain of the modern "Light Brigades," boring through the Flemish sand dunes. At this rate, if Germany is to be driven back to her former borders before peace is concluded, we may expect another Thirty Years' War, while if you postulate a cessation of hostilities only upon the capture of Berlin by the French and English, you may look for another War of a Hundred Years.

The second French invasion of Alsace has not yet penetrated as far as the first one, but apparently the thrust this time has more weight behind it, and, at any rate, the value of this enterprise cannot be gauged entirely by its material progress. From Belfort to Dunkirk, wherever *Piou-Piou* in the trenches hears that the tricolor is again in Alsace, he will take the news as a good augury and fight with renewed assurance that the gods and the larger interests are with him. Were Joffre's men to make a clean sweep of the thirty-mile-wide plain between the Vosges and the Rhine, from Colman to Mülhausen, all France would thrill with renewed confidence of ultimate victory, as we in the Northern United States thrilled after Gettysburg, and as Japan thrilled after Port Arthur.

This feat, however, is not so easy as it may seem to rocking-chair strategists in America. But with the Vosges behind them at Steinbach, the French now have driven in the edge of their wedge and can be counted on to fight for further gains with the renewed spirit of men who have taken up aggressive tactics after months of defensive warfare. The French victory on the Vosges is the only clear-cut advantage gained by either side west of the Rhine for several weeks.

TOUCH-AND-GO IN POLAND

From the outset the campaign in southern Poland and western Galicia has been a game of touch-and-go between the Russians and the Germans, with Cracow and Warsaw as their respective objective points. If the Russians were to take Cracow, the cradle of Polish liberty, which was given to Austria in 1846 by Russia and Prussia, all Silesia—a very wealthy district—would lie at their mercy, with the valley of the Oder open towards Berlin and the railway west of the Carpathians leading into Vienna. On the other hand, were the Germans to win Warsaw, the ancient capital of Poland, situated on a rolling plain beside the sluggish Vistula, they could paralyze the Russian communications in Poland, for from Warsaw railways run out like the ribs of an umbrella to Petrograd, Berlin, Danzig, Kiev, Posen, Breslau, and Odessa. Furthermore, without holding Warsaw it is impossible to control the Vistula, which carries the whole commerce of its own fertile valley.

Each time the Russians have threatened Cracow their attention has been distracted by German menaces against Warsaw, and every time that Hindenburg has rolled over against Warsaw he has been worried by the possibility of the Czar's men getting through Cracow and into Silesia before he could complete the investment of the ancient Polish capital. The contest reminds one of a game of hockey, with Cracow the goal defended by the Germans and Warsaw guarded by the Czar's men. Every time that either side has seemed about to score it has been suddenly forced to hurry back to defend its own goal.

Now the Russians are again sweeping against Cracow, which, it is worth remembering, held out for two months against the

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Swedes in 1655. The Germans have taken Bolimow, about thirty miles southwest of Warsaw, and are now waiting for the streams and swamps between them and the threatened city to freeze over. Until either Warsaw or Cracow falls there can hardly be anything decisive accomplished in the central eastern theater of war.

RUSSIA IN HUNGARY

In the southeastern arena, however, the latest reports indicate that the Russians have broken through the Austrian guard and have entered Hungary through several gaps in the Carpathians, including the Uzsok Pass, which controls access to the valuable petroleum fields south of Lemberg and Przemysl.

If it be true, as reported from Petrograd, that an army of the Czar has occupied Suczawa, less than a mile from the Rumanian border, important political results may be forthcoming. The Russians have claimed repeatedly that Rumania was only waiting for spring to free the mountain passes of snow before joining the Allies; and if this be true, with the Russians already within sight of her borders, the Balkan state may decide to join them sooner in the hope of getting Transylvania as her reward. At any rate, a very material benefit to the Allies from the Russian invasion is apt to come in the withdrawal of more German troops from the western battle-line to help the harried Austrians. So close is the co-operation between the Grand Duke Nicholas and General Joffre, who are in constant telegraphic communication with each other, that during any one of these frequent shifts of German forces from west to east and back again the Allies on the side which has been weakened may break through. That is one of the possibilities which lends interest to the heroic efforts of Germany at bay.

GERMANY SHORT OF AMMUNITION

Last week I said that there was good reason to believe that Germany's supply of ammunition could not last long at the present rate of consumption, and that she was short of material for making more. In the meantime evidence has been discovered which tends to substantiate the truth of that statement. Recently, upon entering a house near the Aisne which had been occupied by several German artillery officers, some French soldiers found among the articles left by the Germans in their hasty retreat a copy of a short manual of instructions which was evidently meant for distribution among the German gunners. This has been published in full by "Le Temps" of Paris. It begins by advising caution in the use of ammunition, "first, because the lessons of war are at variance with the teaching given in time of peace; second, because German industry, even when providing its maximum output, cannot indefinitely supply our army with ammunition."

There follows a recital of methods by which the expenditure of ammunition can be kept at a minimum:

"Never fire unless sure that the mark is worth while. Use projectiles appropriate for the result to be obtained. Do not fire at night, as observation is then impossible.

"When infantry is co-operating with artillery, the foot soldiers should begin the charge at once after the bombardment to get the fullest advantage from it. Strong positions are ready to be attacked after a bombardment of an hour or two. If the assault does not follow immediately, ammunition has been wasted. When on the defense wait for the right moment before opening fire. A long cannonade is a waste of ammunition."

The manual repeatedly cautions the German gunners against what the French call "*arrosage*," which means the maintenance of a veritable hail of shells over a given area to exterminate all life within it.

Military observers at the front, with both the British and French armies, have reported noticing a recent change in the use of artillery by the Germans. During the first months of the war the Germans were extremely lavish with ammunition, though hardly so wasteful as some untrained artillerists whom I saw with the Mexican revolutionary army nearly a year ago—who went at a supply of shrapnel like small boys with torches blundering into a cache of fireworks saved up against the Fourth of July, apparently caring little what they hit if they got plenty of flash, bang, and "hurrah" at their end of the firing range. During the heavy fighting of the first phases of the war the Germans took long chances, and were apparently willing to waste many shells for one hit; but lately they have been much more cautious, both with artillery and small-arm ammunition, although even with the latter they have not yet reached the point of applying Bunker Hill tactics and waiting to see "the whites of the enemies' eyes" before firing.

Last week I mentioned that, among other

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commodities needed for the manufacture of ammunition, Germany was particularly short of saltpeter. Now there reaches me a report of a resolution passed by the Chamber of Agriculture of Brandenburg, calling attention to this lack of saltpeter. As published by the "North German Gazette," which got into trouble with the Government for making it public, part of this resolution was as follows:

"There is danger to Germany in the fact that, owing to the war, Germany is unable to import saltpeter, and in the fact that this state of affairs may be renewed at any later time. This is a great danger because such a scarcity of saltpeter as now exists causes a considerable diminution in the produce of the harvest, and because the production of the ammunition and explosives that are needed may be handicapped. Therefore, since the food supply of the people and Germany's power of resistance may suffer from a want of nitrogenous salts, and since private industry cannot be counted on to solve this problem, it seems desirable for the Imperial Government to take measures at once to assure a permanent supply of nitrogenous salts for Germany."

The agitation in the German Socialist press for higher wages for the miners in the copper mines of Eisleben, Saxony, seems to indicate an unusual activity in these mines, which is probably due to Germany's great need of copper.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SEA CONTROL

Here we see well illustrated the importance of the control of the sea, an advantage which England's participation in the war has brought to her allies. Were the British navy neutral, all talk of "starving out" Germany would be folly, and France and Russia would be more likely than the Fatherland to suffer from a lack of imports. As it is, the Allies can buy abroad what they cannot make at home. Just the other day France ordered 350,000 rifles from an American firm. The fact that these rifles are not to be delivered for ten months indicates that the Allies are not likely to make the mistake which Germany made in underestimating the endurance of her opponents. So great is the demand for weapons, even among the Allies, that while the arms factories in their territory and in America are working overtime, American Springfield rifles of the model of 1883 have been sold recently at $11 apiece instead of $3.50—their price before the war. These ancient weapons, of course, would hardly be used on the firing-line, but for use by guards at prison camps and by recruits in training camps they serve fairly well. Since the opening of the war the price by the thousand for cartridges for these old-fashioned rifles has risen from $23.50 to $28.75.

GERMANY STILL HAS MEN

Although there may be an impending shortage of ammunition in Germany, there is no immediately impending scarcity of men, even at the tremendous mortality rate maintained thus far, which has cost the Fatherland a million men in five months of war, according to the most reliable estimates. Having thrown all her trained forces against the Allies in vain efforts to break the ring of steel first on one side and then on the other, Germany can now be expected to call upon her untrained men. Theoretically, Germany has universal military service, but, as a matter of fact, a great many men escape the required military training. First, of course, are those who fail to meet the requirements of physical fitness, many of whom would be useful enough in an emergency such as that which now confronts the Fatherland. Then there are those who come up to this standard but who have not been trained because the size of the military budget has not permitted it. These are placed in the *Ersatz*, or Replacement Reserve, and are not to be trained till the commencement of an emergency. Finally, there must be available fully a million youths under twenty—the age at which young Germans are supposed to enter the army. It is difficult to compute accurately the full extent of the human stream that will flow to the defense of Germany from these three sources, but it is probably no exaggeration to say that there are still available between three and four million Germans yet untrained or now training. In our Civil War the South, with a population of about ten million whites, put into the field an army of about ninety per cent of her military population. There is reason to believe that Germany will fight as bitterly and determinedly as the Confederacy did, and, if so, with her population of 67,000,000 in August, 1914, she ought to be able, between the outbreak of the war and the cessation of hostilities, to put nearly eight million men in the field, exclusive of what Austria contributes. Even if the present high casu-

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alties continue, this should give her enough men to defend her present military frontier and maintain her communications for a matter of years yet.

THE WAR NOW A GIGANTIC SIEGE

Reviewing the situation to-day, there is a sound basis for considering the war in Europe as a siege of Germany and Austria—a viewpoint that some English experts are coming to take. The Teutonic forces are not completely blockaded, it is true, but they have been deprived of considerable freedom of maneuver, and the conflict in the east seems likely soon to become, like the struggle in the west, a battle from fortifications entirely, in which the sapper plays a part prominent in siege operations from time immemorial. The German line is far extended, and as Germany's armies are worn down it may be difficult for her to avoid retreating to shorten the length of frontier to be defended.

The Allies are now searching out the weak spot in this line, as the allies in the Crimean War felt out the weak link in the chain of defenses before Sebastopol, and as Grant felt out the point of least resistance in Lee's lines about Richmond. When they find it, or think they find it, they will lunge forward in a battering-ram attack, hoping to break through as the French and English broke through at the Malakoff, and as Grant broke through at Five Forks. On the other hand, the Germans boast that (barring the possibility of such an internal defection as might develop from the reported unrest in Hungary and Transylvania), *whenever* the war ends it will end *where* it is to-day.

January 6, 1915.

II—THE UNIFICATION OF RUSSIA

BY GEORGE KENNAN

SINCE the declaration of war against Russia by Germany, on the 1st of August last, the Russian people have surprised the world with two great mass movements of extraordinary interest and importance. First, they put aside remembrance of their grievances and wrongs, and went unanimously to the support of the monarch who had so long oppressed them; and, second, they voluntarily abandoned the most injurious of their habits, and persuaded, if they did not compel, their Government and their Czar to go out of the vodka-selling business and relinquish the immense revenue derived therefrom. The second of these movements I described in an article on "Prohibition in Russia" which was published in The Outlook of December 16, 1914. I purpose now to consider the first, and to answer as fully as I can the questions, "How was the unification of Russia brought about, and how long is it likely to last?"

The war of Russia with Japan was terminated, as General Kuropatkin himself admits, not by the Russian armies in Manchuria, but by the opponents of the Russian Government at home. It was internal dissension, not defeats in the field, which forced the Czar and his Ministers to make peace. When the present war began, the Germans at least expected that the history of 1905 and 1906 would be repeated; and that the Czar's Government would again be hampered, if not crippled, by a revival of the revolutionary movement, and by the active hostility of the Poles, Finns, Armenians, Georgians, Catholics, Mohammedans, and religious dissenters who had felt the Czar's heavy hand in the past and who were supposed to be watching and waiting for another chance to rebel and resist. These expectations, however, were not realized. Instead of availing themselves of the opportunity to renew the attack on their oppressors, the insurgents and malcontents buried the hatchet—to use an American phrase—and rallied around the throne with patriotic enthusiasm and unanimity. All political, racial, and class lines were instantly obliterated, and all parties, nationalities, and social groups laid aside their animosities and united in defense of the state. At the historic "war session" of the Duma, on the 8th of August, 1914, the representatives of almost every nationality and political party in the Empire gave the Government a sincere promise of hearty co-operation and support. These assurances of loyalty, moreover, were not confined merely to words. No matter how much a class, a party, or a nationality had suffered at the hands of a despotic and

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intolerant oligarchy in the past, it forgot its injuries, forgave its oppressors, and contributed what it could to national defense.

Within the memory of men not yet old the Turkomans of Central Asia fought a defensive campaign against an invading Russian army led by General Skobelef. When their resistance was finally broken, in January, 1881, their principal settlement, Geok-Tepe, was taken by storm, and was then given up for three days to all the horrors of sack, pillage, and slaughter. After this bloody episode in their history one could hardly expect that they would have a kindly feeling for their enemies and conquerors; and yet, only a few weeks ago, they equipped, at a cost of 150,000 rubles, a Red Cross hospital train, with half a dozen surgeons, a corps of trained nurses, and a force of one hundred and thirty stretcher-bearers and sanitarians.

Even the Kirghis of Siberia—poor Asiatic nomads of the Mohammedan faith—rallied in support of a Christian monarch, and telegraphed the Grand Duke Nicholas, in Poland, that they were shipping to him by rail five hundred of their best horses—"animals," as they explained, "that are accustomed to privation, and that will go long and far on very little food." Only a few years ago the Czar sanctioned a measure which deprived these same nomads of a large part of their wandering-ground, on the pretext that it was needed for Russian agricultural settlers. As soon, however, as the state was imperiled, the Kirghis, disregarding the fact that their lands had been taken from them without compensation, gave for national defense a large part of the scanty property that the Russian Government had left them.

Equal magnanimity was shown by the Armenians, who not only contributed liberally to war relief funds and the Red Cross, but volunteered, in large numbers, for active service in the field. And yet, only a few years ago, the Russian Government arbitrarily sequestered the property of the Armenian Church, and still more recently it arrested more than a thousand Armenians, on trumped-up charges of "separatism," held them for long periods in overcrowded prisons, and finally sent scores of them into exile and penal servitude. Prince Vorontsof-Dashkof, Viceroy of the Caucasus, subsequently admitted that these Armenians were innocent, and said in his official report, no longer ago than last year, "Separatist tendencies among the Armenians do not exist. Any statement to the contrary can be disproved by the actual facts, which confirm the devotion of the Armenians to Russia." When the safety of the state was threatened by the aggressive action of Germany, the persecuted Armenians forgot or condoned the acts of their oppressors, and rivaled the Slavs in their loyalty and patriotism.

All that has here been said of the Turkomans, the Kirghis, and the Armenians is equally true of the Finns, the Jews, the Lithuanians, the Georgians, the Caucasian mountaineers, the liberals, and even the revolutionists. All of these nationalities and political groups had at some time been persecuted or oppressed by the Czar and his Ministers; and yet, in the great national crisis that followed the German declaration of war, every one of them, for patriotic reasons, took the side of its persecutors and oppressors. Never, I think, in any country, has a finer or more magnanimous spirit been shown.

How have these manifestations of loyalty and patriotism been received by the Russian Government? Has it met magnanimity with appreciation and concession? Has it relaxed its severity toward the peoples and groups that have forgotten and forgiven so much? Not in the slightest degree! On the contrary, while accepting, as a matter of course, the support so generously given, it has continued to pursue its old policy of distrust and repression. Take as an illustration its attitude toward the liberals and the Duma.

If at the outbreak of the war the Czar had followed the example set by France—if he had reorganized his Ministry by admitting to it a few capable and patriotic men from the ranks of the Constitutional Democrats or the Octobrists—he would have strengthened greatly his own position, to say nothing of increasing the efficiency of his Government. But he preferred to retain such hidebound reactionists as Maklakof, Shcheglovitof, and Kasso, and to govern on the lines drawn by Stolypin and Pleve. After the remarkable exhibition of loyalty and unanimity given by the Duma in the war session of August 8, one would have expected the Government to put some trust in the representatives of the people, and to invite their co-operation in the tremendous task set before the nation by the war. But the Czar did not trust even a Duma in which he had always had a majority. When big problems of taxation and finance began to come up, and the country was in

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urgent need of its best brains, a number of influential Deputies, with President Rodzianko at their head, begged the Government to reconvene the Duma and allow it to participate in the impending legislation. But the Czar preferred to rule by ukase, under the provisions of Section 87 of the Fundamental Laws, and politely declined to avail himself of the Duma's advice and aid. ("Russkoe Bogatstvo," September 14, 1914, pp. 306–307.) By putting the whole country under martial law and "obligatory regulations," he and his Ministers could keep all power in their own hands. A few weeks later, when the influential liberal review "Russkoe Bogatstvo" published an article in which this policy was mildly criticised, that periodical was promptly suppressed "for the whole period of the war."[1]

Few governments, I think, have ever had more loyal and patriotic support from the periodical press than the Czar's Government has had since the outbreak of war; and yet Russian newspapers have been treated almost as if they were secret allies of Germany and covert enemies of the state. The most moderate criticism and the most reasonable suggestions have been fiercely resented by the Czar's officials, and under the wide license given to civil administrators by martial law the punishments inflicted upon offending editors have been made much more severe than they were before. Within the last six or eight weeks ten newspapers or reviews have been suppressed altogether, and eleven have been fined in the following sums: "Omski Vestnik," 500 rubles; "Altaiski Dyello," 500; "Priishimye," 500; "Svet," 1,000; "Sinii Zhurnal," 1,000; "Utro Rossii," 1,000; "Zavet," 3,000; "Bourse Vedomosti," 3,000; "Russkiya Vedomosti," 3,000; "Reitch," 6,000; "Den," 10,000. This list is by no means complete; it comprises only a few cases that I have happened to notice. Scores of separate numbers of perhaps twenty different papers have been confiscated by the police, and three editors have been sent to prison for terms ranging from seven months to one year. Permission to establish new journals has been almost invariably refused. At the war session of the Duma, Deputy Ichas, from the province of Kovno, made a most patriotic speech in behalf of his constituents, the Lithuanians, who, he said, would support the Government with their fortunes and their lives. A few weeks later he asked permission of the Minister of the Interior to establish a newspaper to be called "The Voice of the Fatherland;" but the Minister seemed to be afraid that the voice of the fatherland would be a shout for freedom, and he therefore denied the request.

Two of the most moderate and influential newspapers in the Empire—the "Reitch" of Petrograd and the "Russkiya Vedomosti" of Moscow—have recently been fined nine thousand rubles for three articles. The "Reitch" was at first suppressed; but upon promise, perhaps, of better behavior, it was allowed to resume publication upon payment of a three-thousand-ruble fine. If, under the authority given by martial law, the Government continues to impose these excessively heavy fines upon obnoxious periodicals, it will force many even of the larger journals into bankruptcy, and thus restrict public criticism of governmental action more closely than it has ever been restricted before.

In other fields the repressive policy of the Government is equally manifest. Provincial editors are still being punished for comments made on the Beilis "ritual murder" case more than a year ago; three Baptists have recently been exiled to Siberia for life, because their preaching happened to convert a few Russian unbelievers who were nominally Orthodox; and five Social Democratic members of the Duma, who are accused of initiating an anti-war movement, are about to be tried for high treason, and will probably be sent into penal servitude, as were the Social Democratic members of the Second Duma. But these, perhaps, are not the worst cases.

Between two and three years ago Baudouin de Courtenay, an aged and distinguished professor in the University of Petrograd, wrote a brochure entitled "The National and Territorial Aspects of Autonomy," which was devoted mainly to the advocacy of federalism, as an essential feature of good government in a state composed of heterogeneous nationalities. The aged and revered professor was soon arrested and prosecuted on the charge of "inciting to sedition and spreading false information calculated to provoke popular hostility toward the Government." The case dragged along in the courts for two years

[1] The editor of "Russkoe Bogatstvo" is the well-known author, publicist, and patriot Vladimir Korolenko. Readers of The Outlook will perhaps remember the affectionate and enthusiastic greetings sent to him on his sixtieth birthday by hundreds of clubs, societies, and organizations, as well as by thousands of individuals, in all parts of the Empire. His voice is now silenced at the time when his criticism and counsel are most needed.—G. K.

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and a half, and finally ended about a month ago in the Petrograd Chamber of Justice. One might reasonably have supposed that, in view of the generous support given to the Government by all of the liberal parties, the Czar and his courts would have treated this distinguished liberal with some consideration and forbearance; but the Chamber of Justice sentenced him to two years' imprisonment in a fortress, and all that the Czar would do was to commute his punishment to three months in view of the long time that he had been under accusation. On the 22d of November, Professor de Courtenay, at the age of seventy, went into solitary confinement in a cell of the Viborg fortress in Finland. (Petrograd "Reitch," November 24, 1914.)

Soon after the outbreak of war Vladimir Bourtsef, one of the oldest and most distinguished of the Russian revolutionists, issued an appeal to his comrades to support their Government; offered his own services to the Czar; and, leaving Paris, where he was safe, went back to Russia to co-operate with the very officials against whom he had so long fought. If the Russian Government had had any generosity—if it had had even common "horse sense"—it would have welcomed this able and patriotic ally and set him at useful work; but, instead of doing this, it arrested him at the frontier and threw him into the House of Preliminary Detention in Petrograd, where he is now awaiting trial on a charge of *lèse majesté*.

If there were any nationality in the Empire to which the Czar owed gratitude for loyalty and service, it was certainly the Finns. They had every reason to feel dissatisfaction, and if at the beginning of the war they had shown a spirit of hostility or disaffection, they might seriously have embarrassed the Government, and have compelled it to keep in Finland a large force of troops that it needed on the frontier of Germany. But the Finns did not do this. Forgetting or forgiving the action of their monarch in depriving them of their Constitution and their autonomy, they gave him their support; many of them volunteered for active service in the field; and two of their officers—Spare and Dahlstroem—have recently been killed in battle. Has the Grand Duke of Finland and the Czar of All the Russias taken a single step toward the people who have shown so much readiness to make peace with him? Not one! His Governor-General, Zein, continues to harry the Finnish press and to prosecute Finnish citizens for *lèse majesté*, and less than a month ago he exiled to Siberia Judge Svinkhuvud, ex-speaker of the Diet, who is one of the ablest and most respected citizens of Finland. Judge Svinkhuvud's offense was refusal to recognize the authority of a Russian procurator appointed in violation of the Finnish Constitution. But Governor-General Zein is no more hostile to the Finns than his Imperial master is. Within the past few weeks Nicholas himself has approved and allowed his Ministers to publish the legislative programme of the so-called "Finland Commission," which recommends the extension to the Grand Duchy of all the Russian laws that the Russians themselves have found most oppressive. In so doing he has virtually said to the Finns: "You have been faithful, loyal, and patriotic in time of war; now I will unite you more completely with the rest of Russia by muzzling your newspapers, suppressing your societies, abrogating your right of public assembly, trying your officials in my courts, and lifting from your shoulders the heavy burden of your antiquated Constitution."

If the Czar thinks that this is the way to confirm loyalty and win affection, he is likely in the not distant future to get a severe mental "jolt." The nationalities of Russia and the Russian people are patient and long-suffering, and just at present they are completely absorbed in the tragedies and miseries of the war; but if Nicholas and his Ministers do not change their course—if they continue to follow the ante-bellum policy of Stolypin and Kokovtsof—united Russia will become disunited when, if not before, the war ends. Then there will be trouble of a very serious kind—trouble which may profoundly affect Russia's internal status, as well as her international relations and the possible extension of her territory and power.

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THE PRESIDENT'S PROTEST TO ENGLAND

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

MANY centuries ago the Mediterranean cities had to adopt rules to govern navigation in time of war. The rules became known as the Rhodian Laws. At an early date they were incorporated into the general body of the Roman law. Other regulations followed, especially, as the Burlington (Vermont) "Free Press" points out, the so-called "Judgments of Oleron" in the eleventh century, and the "Consolato del Mare" formulated in the twelfth century. Later there appeared for the northern seas the "Constitutions of the Hanseatic League," the "Customs of Amsterdam," and the "Laws of Antwerp."

American participation in international naval regulations was signalized by the Napoleonic wars when, with the British fleet in command of the seas, France had to depend for its commerce on neutral vessels. The field for neutral commerce was thus greatly extended. Much of the trade fell to the United States. The effect of this trade, as noted by the Kansas City "Times," being chiefly to benefit France, "the British Government responded with harsh regulations defining contraband, enforcing the right of searching American vessels outside American ports. . . . American commerce was in a fair way to be ruined."

Finally we went to war with Great Britain in defense of the principle of respect for neutrality. "Great Britain always has held to the idea, and for many years made open claim, that she owned the seas and had the right to control them," asserts the Leavenworth "Times." "This is an idea that got us into trouble with that country a little more than a hundred years ago. . . . We are better able to contend for our rights now than we were then;" indeed, we were then so weak that, as the Kansas City "Times" remarks, we were getting "just as much attention as Luxemburg is getting to-day." Now, however, "this country has sufficient power to insure respect."

On the other hand, during the Civil War our Government maintained with great vigor its contentions as to the right of blockade, search, detention, and seizure. In that war, as the Minneapolis "Journal" states, the United States proclaimed and maintained a complete blockade of the Southern coast, and enforced an embargo on the products of its own country. The "Journal" adds:

> The question of the right of search did not go to arbitration in the Civil War, because both nations [England and America] accepted the rulings of their own courts. The question of neutrals' fitting out armed expeditions and selling war-ships to hostiles went to arbitration, and the international law of it was settled for all time by the Geneva Tribunal.

An important recent event connected with the present war has been President Wilson's note to England concerning the interference by British vessels with American shipping. Since last week's issue of The Outlook went to press the full text of that protest has been published. In the course of the note Mr. Wilson says:

> The Government of the United States fully admits the full right of a belligerent to visit and search on the high seas the vessels of American citizens or other neutral vessels carrying American goods and to detain them when there is sufficient evidence to justify a belief that contraband articles are in their cargoes; but his Majesty's Government, judging by their own experience in the past, must realize that this Government cannot, without protest, permit American ships or American cargoes to be taken into British ports and there detained for the purpose of being searched generally for evidence of contraband, or upon presumptions created by special municipal enactments which are clearly at variance with international law and practice.

This would seem to leave the general principle of examination and seizure unchanged, and would be, as the Washington "Times" concludes, simply a demand for more efficient methods of attaining to the business at hand. The main question is whether British ships have abused their acknowledged right of search.

There has been temptation to do so, not only because some of the largest exports from this country have been deemed contraband, but also because there has been smuggling.

As to the exports in question, the chief is copper. Of this commodity our exports have not increased in total quantity; indeed, they have decreased. They are about two-thirds as large as they were before the war. But there has been a sudden increase in the importation by Scandinavia and Italy. The

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English believe that this is due to the necessity of using copper in the manufacture of munitions of war, and to the possibility of getting it from a neutral into a belligerent state. On the other hand, it may be said that, with Germany largely cut off, other nations were able to increase their output of goods into which copper enters, and that Scandinavia and Italy have drawn large supplies of the metal from us to be converted into commercial products which in other times would have been turned out by German plants. Moreover, as the New York "Times" points out, these countries have had an abnormal demand for their own military necessities.

Another important commodity which has been made contraband is rubber, needed at the present time for the manufacture of tires and boots. Other contraband commodities are turpentine and rosin, because they are used in making certain explosives.

The necessity of stopping the importation of these things into belligerent countries has led the British to carry their basic right of search to the point of escorting American vessels under suspicion into British ports and detaining those vessels for periods ranging from a fortnight to six weeks.

Special justification for the search of vessels clearing from our ports has been claimed by the British because of alleged smuggling. It was also claimed that in some cases the ship's manifest did not disclose the whole of the cargo. It is therefore significant that the American Government has issued a special circular urging the co-operation of American exporters and shippers with the Government in regard to the manifests of neutral ships.

During the Boer War Lord Salisbury, then British Foreign Minister, announced the Government's decision regarding foodstuffs as follows:

> Foodstuffs, with a hostile destination, can be considered contraband of war only if they are supplies for the enemy's forces. It is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used. It must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of seizure.

This doctrine, says the Waterbury "American," covers the case fully and excellently.

England has been acting in a manner contrary to her own past declarations as to what should constitute contraband of war, if we may believe the Sacramento "Bee:"

> The truth of the matter appears to be that England materially has modified, to suit herself and her own interests in the present war, what is styled the Declaration of London, drafted in 1909, with respect to articles contraband of war. Our Government significantly has called for a definite statement of the present British attitude in the matter, "in order that it may take such measures as will protect American citizens in their rights;" which should be sufficient to notify the British Government that it must put a stop to the arbitrary and arrogant naval practices of which complaint is made.

The utter ruin of our trade with the enemies of England, France, and Russia was expected by the Philadelphia "Ledger," for supremacy on the seas carries with it the closure of hostile ports. "We have not even insisted on those fundamental rights in non-contraband commerce which precedent upholds." The "Ledger" adds, however:

> But when England undertakes to regulate, interfere with, and even prevent our commerce with nations that are not at war, she assumes a privilege which this Government in no circumstances can admit, and against the exercise of which it is compelled vigorously to record itself.

Considered in its larger aspects, affirms the Galveston "News," President Wilson's note is a protest against a general tendency, manifested in varying degree by all the belligerent nations, to encroach on the rights guaranteed to the commerce of neutral nations by international law and custom.

Most American papers support the Wilson note in its entirety; the Indianapolis "Star," however, thus summarizes the thoughts of many:

> That we should speak out to Great Britain in behalf of the international law which she and ourselves have upheld in the past—yes.
>
> But that we should "twist the lion's tail" or unfairly embarrass a combatant in this great war—no, a hundred times no. . . .
>
> Our protest to Great Britain on her treatment of our ships is justified. Our protest to Germany against the violation of Belgian neutrality, the greatest national crime of our century, would also have been justified. We made the protest in one case; we did not make it in the other.

So much for American comment. Now for that of other neutral nations.

The Amsterdam "Handelsblad" thus reflects Dutch opinion:

> It is well that Washington drew the attention of the British Government to the difficult position of neutral shippers. But will the protest help? We believe we are justified in doubting this, as in the case of the protest of the Nether-

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lands, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. So, this one will be shelved because England will consider above all her own interests.

Even more interesting is the Italian comment, for Italian commerce has been particularly penalized. Trade has not only been halted; it has also been deflected from Genoa to Genoa's rival, Marseilles.

The Rome "Giornale d'Italia," a rather conservative paper, thus describes existing conditions:

A great mass of copper destined for Italian works lies on the quays of Gibraltar, and many of our factories have been forced to close for want of raw material. A great quantity of mineral oil is also lying at Gibraltar or Toulon on account of the way the goods were consigned. The same thing has happened in the case of cotton and many other kinds of merchandise. An enormous number of ships are detained at Toulon and Marseilles awaiting permission to proceed, among them some destined for Italy.

The English are punctilious. With perfect courtesy they stop a ship, and when they find goods that offend against the Order in Council they present a beautiful form to the commander, in which it is stated that the ship cannot proceed before it has discharged the incriminating merchandise. The commander is advised, however, that he is free to prove that the cargo in question is intended for consumption in a neutral country.

One must understand the shipping trade to grasp what all this signifies. The ship has been turned from its course; it must consume more coal; and there is always danger that the authorities may, in rigidly applying the rules, finish by sequestrating the ship. To all this must be added the annoyance of the formalities and cross-examinations that have to be borne by our shipmasters, the danger of disorder among passengers or crew, the series of visits, one after another, in the Atlantic, at Gibraltar, and elsewhere. After Gibraltar in the Gulf of Lyons come the French, and if the ship goes toward Corsica there is another visit from the French fleet.

The Liberal "Tribuna" of Rome finds the following cause for all the trouble:

Complaints of Italian ship-owners, merchants, and industrialists at the indiscreet and vexatious way in which English and French warships are exercising the right of search among our merchant ships bound for Italian ports from neutral countries are becoming increasingly strong. We are truly sorry to have to say clearly that such action is producing no small amount of discontent, which may have consequences that the Governments of France and England and their representatives in Italy will not be able to ignore. We are ready to believe that the excess of activity . . . arises from the zealous commanders. . . . They forget that famous precept of Talleyrand, who always recommended, above all, not too much zeal.

America, the Scandinavian countries, and Italy are united by an informal understanding which might become formal if the abuses continue. They only desire to see their commerce protected, and demand that international rules, instead of arbitrary belligerents, reign over the seas.

The American note, or similar views from other neutrals, must not be taken as an expression of hostility toward England or her allies, but as an expression of irritation at the injury to their commerce by the inconsiderate application of international rights.

The organ of the Italian Radicals, the "Vita" of Rome, declares the Wilson note to be the most important document since the beginning of the war, because it is from the greatest Power in the world not involved in the conflict. Neutrals nowadays must be in a position to enforce their rights. This the United States can do, says the "Vita," for she has enormous interests throughout the world and a formidable fleet. The paper goes on:

Fortunately, American interests are identical with those of the smaller neutral Powers. These states can follow in the footsteps of the United States. Should the neutral Powers of Europe join hands, as the countries of Scandinavia have done, for the protection of their maritime interests, their voice would be more convincing. Experience shows that observance of the rights of neutrality is contingent upon the possession of material strength on the part of the neutral Powers to enforce their point of view.

The "Vita" concludes with the hope that the neutral states of Europe will act with America in insisting that the relations between neutrals and belligerents be settled on a broad basis, "otherwise the United States will get all the satisfaction, while the other neutral Powers will be worse off than before."

In Germany the Wilson note is being interpreted as meaning that the Fatherland may possibly be able to obtain more supplies; indeed, the "Kölnischer Zeitung" suggests that the United States send war materials to Germany and Austria under protection of a war-ship.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has this to say on the protest:

England's sea militarism threatens the economic life and existence of all neutrals, and the time must come when the neutrals will unite to defend themselves. England will listen to

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neutral complaints when she is ordered to do so, not when she is requested. President Wilson has the means to attain that result. He simply needs to halt the exportation of war materials to the Triple Entente.

The comment of French newspapers is no less significant. "La France," for instance, a Paris paper, while criticising what it calls the bad humor of American exporters, declares that American interests lie in allowing Great Britain to carry out her work of policing the seas tranquilly for the salvation of Europe and the world.

Another Paris paper, the "Guerre Sociale," makes this characteristic reference:

The Teutonic alliance has four entry gates for imports—Suez, Gibraltar, the English Channel, and the passage between Iceland and Scotland—all shut by the Allies. The American contrabandists are crying out, "Let us rejoice in this proof of the completeness of the blockade."

The Paris "Figaro" is also sarcastic:

American statistics show that the November exports to Italy were valued at $17,000,000, against $7,500,000 in the November preceding; to Denmark, $13,000,000, against $1,000,000; to Norway, $16,000,000, against $750,000; and to Sweden, $7,500,000, against $1,000,000. It does not appear at first sight as if American commerce was suffering so terribly from the surveillance by the allied cruisers of the cargoes consigned to neutral countries whence Germany might obtain supplies.

"Figaro" does not doubt, nevertheless, that England, while maintaining her rights, will diminish as much as possible the inevitable inconveniences which have been caused by the exercise of the right of search.

When one comes to English opinion, the most striking comment comes from the London "Globe." There is no country in the world, it says, "not even our own or Holland, where commercial considerations have more weight . . . than in America. And hence we are not surprised that the head of the Democratic party . . . should issue this protest to Great Britain in order to avoid the accusation that he is neglectful of American business interests." The "Globe" continues:

We hardly like to suggest that the surprising attitude of Senator Walsh should possibly be interpreted in the light of the fact that he represents Montana, the principal copper-mining State, but the coincidence is curious. He is very firm on the obligation laid upon the United States to protect the rights of neutrals in general, but, like others, he has nothing to say as to the moral obligation of that great country to protest against the inhuman violations of the Hague Convention, of which they are one of the chief guarantors.

It is true that England is not at the moment fighting the battle of Standard Oil or American copper, but she is defending the cause of democracy and freedom against the most formidable enemy which has threatened them for a hundred years. We are afraid our regard for America—and it is very sincere—will not stretch to inducing us to abandon our own most valuable weapon in the greatest war the world has ever seen.

In another issue the London "Globe" says:

Moral questions of supreme importance and special concern to the United States presented themselves during the last five months in the acutest form, as violations of all the Hague conventions, to which America is signatory, and in the promotion of which America has borne honorably a prominent part, have been flagrant and repeated; but the American Government has declared its inability to utter a word of protest.

The American Government is silent and unprotesting in the face of the indefensible outrages inflicted on Belgium. The voice of the great neutral nation which seeks to be the final arbiter for civilization, the keeper of the world's conscience, is raised for the first time, not on a question of higher morality, but to express impatience with the fact that the greatest war in the history of the world has interfered with the opportunities of American traders to make money out of the necessities of the belligerents. Whatever is at stake, American business must not be allowed to suffer.

The London "Times" thus correctly interprets the general American attitude:

We do not suppose this is a dispute of our right as belligerents to practice such interference with commerce between neutrals as is manifestly necessary for the protection of our national safety. What they do question, as we gather it, is whether the action of our ships does not in some cases exceed that manifest necessity.

As a concession to American feeling the London "Standard" makes a strong plea for greater publicity when American ships are detained for search. This, it says, would be a great departure from the accepted British practice, but it is not unreasonable. The "Standard" also thinks that a joint Anglo-American Committee, with powers to advise and report, would be advisable and that a certificate from such a body on each case as it arose would go far to satisfy American opinion.

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WITH THE WAR PHOTOGRAPHERS IN BELGIUM[1]

BY A. R. WILLIAMS

THE OUTLOOK'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN BELGIUM

THIS is another story of men of valor and of war. It concerns men in plain dress, not in uniform—a tale of civilians, not of soldiers. It concerns those men who go to the front armed with cameras rather than with rifles. One rarely gets the name of the photographer beneath the picture—only a statement of copyright by some impersonal news bureau; yet where would be our vivid impression of courage in daring and of skill in doing, of cunning strategy upon the field of battle, of wounded soldiers sacrificing for their comrades, if we had no pictures? Behind every such picture there is another tale of daring and of strategy, and that is the tale concerning the man who took it.

The war photographer rarely comes to our notice. He is overshadowed by the war correspondent. While there is some deception, as I shall show, yet, as a rule, it is most difficult for the photographer to "fake his stuff," or to get it without paying the price. The correspondent, on the other hand, may be taking his war *de luxe* in a good hotel, and, priming with a glass of beer some wounded soldier from the front, may pump the fellow for a first-rate second-hand story. But the camera refuses to record words; it confines itself to deeds. So the photographers, like the soldiers, must hie themselves away to the front. I first made their acquaintance as they were gathered round the tables of Gambrinus in Ghent. Their plain clothes stood out in contrast to the colored uniforms of officers and soldiers crowded in that café. Their little group constituted an island of English talk in a babbling sea of French and Flemish. Though they were between the ages of twenty and thirty, they had seen service in all the great events of Europe, and even around the globe. Stormy petrels, they were always in the center of the whirling world. Like most men who have seen much of the world, good and bad, they had ceased to be cynics. When I came in out of the rain with no other introduction than a dripping overcoat, they took me into their company and whiled away the evening with tales of other wars. At the end they invited me to fill out their automobile on the morrow. Nearly every other automobile had been commandeered by the authorities for the "Service Militaire" and bore on the front the letters "SM." Our automobile was not in the blue-ribbon class, and the authorities had evidently passed it over as being no particular asset to them. But the correspondents counted it a great stroke of fortune to have any car at all; and, that they might continue to have it, they kept it at night carefully locked in a room in the hotel. They kept their chauffeur under like supervision. He was one of their kind, and with the cunning of a diplomat obtained the permit to buy petrol, most precious of all treasures in the zone of war.

With the British flag flying at the front, we sped away next morning on the road to Termonde. In the outskirts of Ghent we met a roving band of Belgian soldiers who were in a free and careless mood, quite willing to put themselves at our disposal. Under the command of the photographers they charged across the fields with fixed bayonets, wriggled up through the grass, or, standing behind the trenches, blazed away with their guns at an imaginary enemy. They did some good acting, grim and serious as death. All except one. This youth couldn't suppress his sense of humor. He could not, or would not, keep from laughing even when he was supposed to be blowing the head off a German. He was properly disciplined and put out of the game, and we went on with our maneuvers to the accompaniment of the clicking cameras until the photographers had gathered in a fine lot of realistic fighting-line pictures. These pictures are "true"—that is, they are faithful to reality, giving indeed even a better idea than if they were taken right on the battle line. They are ethically as justifiable as fiction, which is "the art of falsifying facts for the sake of truth."

One of the photographers sat stolidly in the automobile smoking his cigarette while

[1] For other articles by Mr. Williams see The Outlook for September 16 and 30 last.—THE EDITORS.

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the others were reaping their harvest of pictures. "Why don't you take these too?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "I've been sending in so much of that stuff that I just got a telegram from my paper saying, 'Pension off that Belgian regiment which is doing stunts in the trenches.'" The apparatus loaded in the car, we were off again.

Past a few barricades of paving-stones and wagons, past the burned houses which marked the place where the Germans had come within five miles of Ghent, we came upon some uniformed Belgians who looked quite as dismal and dispirited as the fog which hung above the fields. They were the famous Guarde Civique of Belgium. Our Union Jack flapping in the wind was very likely quite the most thrilling spectacle they had seen in a week, and they hailed it with a cheer and a cry of "*Vive l'Angleterre!*" The Guarde Civique has had a rather inglorious time of it. Wearisomely in their wearisome-looking uniform they stand for hours on their guns or march and countermarch in dreary patrolling, often doomed not even to scent the battle from afar off.

Whenever we were called to a halt for the examination of our passports, these men crowded around and begged for newspapers. We held up our stock, and they would clamor for the ones with pictures. The English text was unintelligible to most of them, but the pictures they could understand, and they bore them away to enjoy the sight of other soldiers fighting, even if they themselves were denied that excitement. Our question to them was always the same, "Where are the Germans?"

Out of the conflicting reports it was hard to tell whether the Germans were heading this way or not. That they were expected was shown by the sign-posts whose directions had just been obliterated by new paint —a rather futile operation, because the Germans had better maps and plans of the regions than the Belgians had themselves. The chauffeur's brother had been shot in his car by the Germans but a week before, and he didn't relish the idea of thus flaunting the enemy's flag along a road where some German scouting party might appear at any moment. The Union Jack had done good service in getting us easy passage so far, but the driver was not keen for going farther with it. It was proposed to turn the car around and back it down the road, as was done the previous day. Thus the car would be headed in the home direction, and at sight of the Germans we could make a quick leap for safety. At this juncture, however, I produced a small Stars and Stripes, which the chauffeur hailed with delight, and we continued our journey now under that ægis of a neutral flag. It might have secured temporary safety, but only temporary; for if the Englishmen with only English passports had fallen into the hands of the Germans, like their other unfortunate kinsmen who have ventured too much around the war zone, they would have been escorted away to some German prison, there to await the end of the war. This cheerful prospect was in the mind of these men, for when we espied coming around a distant corner two gray-looking men on horseback, they turned white as the chauffeur cried, "Uhlans!" and it is a question whether the car or our hearts came to a dead standstill first. Our shock was unnecessary. They proved to be Belgians, and assured us that the road was clear all the way to Termonde; and, except for an occasional peasant tilling his fields, the countryside was quite deserted until at Grembergen we came upon an unending procession of refugees streaming down the road. They were all coming out of Termonde. Termonde, after being taken and retaken, bombarded and burned, was for the moment neutral territory. A Belgian commandant had allowed the refugees that morning to return and gather what they might from among the ruins.

In the early morning, then, they had gone into the city, and now at high noon they were pouring out, a great procession of the dispossessed, bringing with them their lares and penates—mainly dogs, feather beds, and crayon portraits of their ancestors. Some came empty-handed; their houses and the contents had been burned to ashes. The few fortunates whose houses had been spared came with their carts piled mountain high with household goods, while a dog harnessed underneath tugged away with desperate earnestness, as though he felt the entire German army at his heels and wanted to escape. Little women came bearing burdens on their heads that would send an American athlete staggering to the ground, while the faithful knight walked by the woman's side bearing a bird-cage minus the bird, or some like burden fitting to his masculine dignity.

To give this the right tragic touch I am tempted to write that tears were streaming down their faces; but truth compels me to

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say that many, indeed, carried a smile and a pipe, and trudged stolidly along much as though going to a fair. Very rarely in that pitiful procession was there any outward expression of sorrow. Undoubtedly there was sadness enough in all their hearts, but people in Europe no longer indulge in luxuries like weeping. They bear the most unwonted afflictions as though they were the ordinary fortunes of life. War has set a new standard for grief. So they passed along the road, but not before the record of their passing was etched forever on our moving-picture films. The coming generation will not have to reconstruct the scene from the colored accounts of the journalist, but with their own eyes they can see the hegira of the homeless as it really was.

In the fighting around Termonde the bridge over the Scheldt had been three times blown up and three times reconstructed. Wires now led to explosives under the bridge on the Termonde side, and on this side they led to a table in the room of the commanding officer. In this table was an electric button. The entrance of the Germans on that bridge was the signal for the officer to push that button, and thus to blow both bridge and Germans into bits. But the Belgians were taking no chances. If by any mishap that electric button should fail them, it would devolve upon the artillery lined upon the bank to rake the bridge with shrapnel. A roofed-over trench ran along the river like a levee and bristled with machine guns whose muzzles were also trained upon the bridge. Full caissons of ammunition were standing alongside ready to feed the guns their death-dealing provender, and in the rear, all harnessed, were the horses, ready to bring up more caissons.

The gunners were standing or crouching by their guns; though in the full blaze of day, there was little tension. The watchers of the night lay stretched out upon the ground sleeping in the warm sun after their long, anxious vigil. Stumbling in among them, I was pulled back by one of the photographers.

"For heaven's sake," he cried, "don't wake up those men!"

"Why?" I asked.

"Because this picture I'm taking here is to be labeled 'Dead Men in the Termonde Trenches,' and we can't have any starting up as though the day of resurrection had arrived."

After these pictures we were ready to cross the bridge; but the two sentries posted at this end were not ready to let us. They were very small men, but very determined, and informed us that their instructions were to allow no one to pass over without a paper signed by the General. We produced scores of passes and passports decorated with stamps and seals and covered with myriad signatures. They looked these over and said that our passports were very nice and undoubtedly very numerous, but ungraciously insisted on that pass signed by the General. So back we flew to the General at Grembergen. I waited outside until they emerged from the office waving passes. They were in a gleeful, bantering mood. That evening they apprised me of the fact that all day I had been traveling as a rich American with my private photographers securing pictures for the Belgian Relief Fund.

Leaving our automobile in charge of the chauffeur, we made our way over the bridge into the city of Termonde, or what was once Termonde, for it is difficult to dignify with the name of city a heap of battered buildings and crumbling brick—an ugly scar upon the landscape.

I was glad to enter the city with my companions instead of alone. It was not so much fear of stray bullets from a lurking enemy as the suggestion of the spirits of the slain lingering round these tombs. For Termonde is just like one vast tomb. As we first passed through its sepulchral silences we were greatly relieved that the three specter-like beings who sat huddled up over a distant ruin turned out not to be ghosts but natives hopelessly and pathetically surveying this wreck that was once called home.

A regiment of hungry dogs came prowling up the street, and, remembering the antics of the past week, they looked at us as if wondering what new species of crazy human being we were. To them the world must suddenly have gone quite mad, and if there had been an agitator among them he might well have asked his fellow-dogs why they had acknowledged a race of madmen as their masters. Indeed, one could almost detect a sense of surprise that we didn't use the photographic apparatus to commit some new outrage. They stayed with us for a while, but at the sight of our cinema man turning the crank like a machine gun they turned and ran wildly down the street.

Emptied bottles looted from some wine

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cellar were strung along the streets. To some they had been more fatal than the Belgian bullets, for while some of the German soldiers had been setting the city blazing with petrol from the petrol flasks, others had set their insides on fire with liquors from the wine flasks, and, rolling down the street in drunken orgy, they had fallen headlong into the canal. Now German helmets still bring high prices as souvenirs. Three boys who had crawled across the bridge were fishing for these hapless victims. It was not from any sentimental reasons, but purely in the business capacity of local dealers in helmets and other German souvenirs. We got pictures there: a picture of the Hôtel de Ville, the walls outside standing like a shell, the inside a smoking mass of débris; then a picture of a mitrailleuse car which swung into the square, bringing a lot of German bicycles, whose riders had just been shot down outside the city. The mitrailleuse also took a shot at an aeroplane buzzing away like a giant bee at a tremendous distance overhead, and was off again on another scouting trip.

I got separated from the party and was making my way alone when I was startled by a sharp "Hello!" ringing up the street. I turned to see, not one of the photographers, but a fully armed Belgian soldier waving his hand at me.

"Hello!" he shouted; "are you an American?"

I could hardly believe my eyes or my ears, but shouted back: "Yes, yes; I am an American. Are you?"

"You betcha," he replied, coming quickly up to me.

"What are you doing down here fighting?" I asked.

"What the hell you think I'm doing?" he rejoined.

"Now are you really an American?" I queried.

"You betcha," he replied. "I'm a Belgian reservist, my name is August Ridden, I came from Wagner, Wisconsin, and I'm out here on scout duty."

"Been in any battles?"

"You betcha," he replied.

"Kill any Germans?"

"You betcha."

"Do you enjoy it?"

"You betcha."

"Any around here now?"

"You betcha. A lot of them down in the bushes over the brook." Then suddenly and with light gleaming in his eyes, as if overjoyed with such an inspired idea, he exclaimed, confidentially, "Come right down with me and you can take a pot-shot at them with my rifle." He said it like a man offering a rare treat to his best friend.

I wanted to exhibit proper zest about this little shooting affray and at the same time decline with thanks. So I said eagerly, "Now you are dead sure the Germans are down there?" implying that of course I couldn't waste any time unless the shooting was good.

"You betcha they're down there. You can see their green-gray uniforms. I counted sixteen or seventeen of them."

The thought of that sixteen-to-one shot made my cheeks take on the color of the German uniforms. The naked truth was my last resort. It was the only thing that stood now between me and my friend, dragging me forcibly down to the brookside. So when Ridden asked, "What's the matter? You afraid?" I replied, "You betcha."

The happy arrival of the photographer at this juncture, however, redeemed my fallen reputation; for a soldier is always peculiarly amenable to the charms of a camera, and is even willing to quit fighting to get his picture taken. We posed for our pictures, and then sat down on a battered wall while Ridden poured his story into my listening ears. As a farewell token he presented me with an epaulet from an officer he had killed and a pin from a German woman spy he had captured. I waved a final adieu down the street, shouting out, "Be sure to come and see me in America when you get back!" The last I heard from Ridden was his sure, confident reply, "You betcha."

Striking farther into the heart of the ruins, we beheld in a section all burned and shattered to the ground a building which stood straight up like a cliff intact and undamaged amidst the general wreckage. As we stumbled over the débris, imagine our surprise when an old lady of about seventy thrust her head out of a basement window. She was the owner of the house, and while the city had been the fighting ground for the armies she had through it all bravely stuck to her home. "I was born here, I have always lived here, and I am going to die here," she said, with a look of pride upon her kindly face. Madame Callebaut-Ringoot was her name. During the bombardment of the

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town she had retired to the cellar; but when the Germans entered to burn the city she stood there at the door watching the flames rolling up from the warehouses and factories in the distance. Nearer and nearer came the billowing tide of fire. A fountain of sparks shooting up from a house a few hundred yards away marked the advance of the firing squad into her street, but she never wavered. Down the street came the spoilers, relentless, ruthless, and remorseless, sparing nothing. They came like priests of the nether world, anointing each house with oil from the petrol flasks and with a firebrand dedicating it to the flames. Every one, panic-stricken, fled before them. Every one but this old lady, who stood there bidding defiance to all the Kaiser's horses and all the Kaiser's men.

"I saw them smashing in the door of the house across the way," said Madame Callebaut, "and when the flames burst forth they rushed over here, and I fell down on my knees before them, crying out, 'For the love of heaven, spare an old lady's home!'"

It must have been a dramatic, soul-curdling sight, with the wail of the woman rising above the crashing walls and the roaring flames. And it must have been effective pleading to stop men in their wild rush lusting to destroy. But Madame Callebaut was endowed with powerful emotions. Carried away in her recital of the events, she fell down on her knees before me, wringing her hands and pleading so piteously that I felt for a moment as if I were a fiendish Teuton with a firebrand about to set the old lady's house afire. I can understand how the wildest men capitulated to such pleadings, and how they came down the steps to write, in big, clear words,

"*NICHT AUFBRENNEN*"
(Do not burn down)

Only they unwittingly wrote it upon her neighbor's walls, thus saving both houses.

How much a savior of other homes Madame Callebaut had been Termonde will never know. Certainly she made the firing squad first pause in that wild debauch of destruction. For frequently now an undamaged house stood with the words chalked on its front, "Only harmless old woman lives here; do not burn down." Underneath were the numbers and initials of the particular corps of the Kaiser's Imperial Army. Often the flames had committed *lèse majesté* by leaping over the forbidden house, and there amidst the charred ruins stood a door or a wall bearing the mocking inscription "*Nicht aufbrennen.*"

Another house, belonging to Madame Louise Bal, bore the words "Protected;" "*Gute alte Leute hier*" (good old people here). A great shell from a distant battery had totally disregarded this sign and had torn through the parlor, exploding in the back yard, ripping the clothes from the line, but touching neither of the inmates.

These houses stood up like lone survivors above the wreckage wrought by fire and shell, and by contrast served to emphasize the dismal havoc everywhere. "So this was once a city," one muses to himself; "and these streets, now sounding with the footfalls of some returning sentry, did they once echo with the roar of traffic? And those demolished shops, were they once filled with the babble of the traders? Over in that building there, which looks so much like a church, did the faithful come to pray and to worship God? Can it be that children's laughter once rang through these courtyards, now in the thrall of death-like silence?" It is hard to realize that one is in the midst of war. One says to himself, "Surely this is some wild dream. Wake up." But hardly a dream, for here are the ruins of a real city, and fresh ruins too. Still curling up from the church is smoke from the burning rafters, and here are the hungry dogs, and there are the stragglers mournfully digging for something out of the ruins. However preposterous it seems, none the less it is a city that yesterday ran high with the tide of human life. And thousands of people, when they would recall the lights and shadows, the pains and raptures, which made up the thing we call life, thought of Termonde. Thousands of people, when they thought of home and all the tender associations that cluster round that word, said, "Termonde." And now where Termonde was there is a big black ragged spot—an ugly gaping wound in the landscape. There are a score of other wounds like that.

There are thousands of them.

There is one bleeding in every Belgian heart.

The sight of their desolated cities has cut the soldiers to the quick.

They have turned the names of those cities into battle cries. Shouting, "Remember Termonde and Louvain," these Belgians sprang from the trenches and like wild men flung themselves upon the foe.

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SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT THE HOLY WAR

BY VRANYALI MUFTIZADÉ

THE Holy War which lately seemed to absorb considerable attention and discussion throughout the world is finally declared. I have a copy of "Tass-vir-i-Efkar" before me, dated November 15, 1914, which contains the text of the *fetva* as officially given out. A *fetva*, as must be known to those familiar with Islamic jurisprudence, is a written decision on some point of law. It has two parts: the first is a question summarizing the problem; the second, an answer giving the decision on that problem in a very laconic manner. In connection with the present war five separate *fetvas* were issued. It may be of interest to quote them:

"When it is found with certainty that the lives and properties of Mohammedans are exposed to the danger of being taken and pillaged, and the Caliph, according to his right, declares a Jehad (Holy War), will it be necessary and imperative for all Moslems in all quarters of the world, whether young or old, to join the Jehad with all their might?

"*Answer.* Yes."

"Therefore, when the Empire has been attacked—God forbid!—with the intention to annihilate Islam, by Russia, England, and France, will it be necessary and imperative for all Moslems who live under those states to take up arms and actually join the Jehad?

"*Answer.* Yes."

"Then, when it is found that, in order to obtain this end, it is necessary that every Moslem join the Jehad, will those who—God forbid!—refrain from doing so bring upon themselves his wrath and be punished?

"*Answer.* Yes."

"Then, will not even those who are brought against their will and with force to fight a Mohammedan state be committing murder punishable by hell fire?

"*Answer.* Yes."

"Then, in the present war, will not those Mohammedans who are under England, France, Russia, Servia, and Montenegro be committing a great sin by fighting Germany and Austria, who are protectors and friends of Islam?"

"*Answer.* Yes."

A Holy War declared as such is evidently a limited one. It is directed solely against those nations that are accused of suppressing Islam and Moslem. It is by no means a ratification for wholesale massacre of Christians. The nations that are friendly to Mohammedanism, on the other hand, must be supported, while others that have declared their neutrality must be left unmolested. It is, however, the duty of every Mohammedan to fight England, Russia, and their allies. Every Moslem must try to cripple these Powers, whether by means of arms or by subscription to the Caliph's treasury. While not joining such a Jehad is a sin, it becomes unpardonable to assist in any manner whatever towards the success of the enemies of Islam.

The point of law being decided, it remains to be discussed whether the facts brought out in the question part of the *fetvas* are correct. Is it true that Mohammedans are persecuted under the rule of the above-mentioned Powers, as assumed in the *fetva?* Here the difficulty of the problem presents itself. On one hand, we will hear arguments to the effect that Mohammedans in India, in Russia, and in Egypt are not persecuted, that they are at perfect liberty to exercise their religion, and that they actually do so. On the other hand, we are told that these people, though in theory they are allowed to exercise their religion with freedom, nevertheless cannot do so as long as they are subject to insults and ironies from petty officers who cannot be used with advantage at home and who are sent to colonies to be fed and dressed, and who usually do not possess the tact which their superiors wisely counsel them to practice. A matter of greater moment is the fact that England, Russia, and, not to be out of fashion, France, have of late taken resolute steps to undermine the Caliph's power and place him in a subordinate position and usurp the last vestige of independence from Islam. Indeed, Mohammedans of Turkey are not able to see any consoling feature in the conduct of Russia and England in the Mohammedan state of Persia; and they regard with justifiable suspicion the movements and dealings of the same nations in their own country. Those of the

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Mohammedans who still had blood running through their veins revolted against the idea of being turned into practical slavery. They informed their coreligionists of the gravity of the situation and asked them to extend their help. It does not seem, however, that this call has received an appreciable response. But it is only natural to expect a rigid system of censorship, which has among its many feats the case of the Audacious, to suppress and distort the news on this phase of the war and keep in darkness the parties interested. That the news will ultimately leak out is certain; then we may reasonably expect activities in Algiers, Tunis, Egypt, and India.

It may be repeated that it is idle and nonsensical to think the movement is anti-Christian; because it is not. Two of the Christian Powers are allies to the Turks, and the remaining non-combatant Christian Powers are friends, and their subjects are treated as such.

A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE death of Admiral Mahan deprives the United States of a man whom it is no exaggeration to call a great public servant. Admiral Mahan belonged in that limited class of men whose honorable ambition it is to render all the service in their power to the cause which they espouse, and who care to achieve distinction and reward for themselves only by the success with which they render this service to the cause. He emphatically belonged among those invaluable workers, the only ones whose work really adds to the sum of mankind's achievement, of whom Ruskin spoke when he said that the only work worth doing was that done by the men who labored primarily for the sake of the labor itself and not for the fee. The great statesmen, soldiers, sailors, the great artists and scientists, the great explorers and engineers, all come in this class. They must pay some heed to the material reward, for they must live; but their first thought is for the work itself, and the work is their joy and delight; and, as a matter of fact, the pecuniary reward of these men, who achieve the greatest and most useful work of their generation, is shamefully inadequate when compared with the similar reward of the men of the money market. Goethals, Dewey, Edison, Saint-Gaudens, John Hay, William James, Winslow Homer, Richardson, Marcus Symonds, Peary, Remington, Mark Twain, Howard Pyle, John Burroughs—these men, and others like them, are the Americans who in the last quarter-century have been the true Americans, the Americans whose achievements in the sum will in future years bulk largest in the total of our National achievement during their generation. High among the men of this type stood Admiral Mahan.

I first met Mahan many years ago when he was a junior officer doing his best to found the War College at Newport. Our navy was then at its nadir, being inferior to the navies of either Spain or Chile. Those of our countrymen who were not absorbed in pure money-getting—a pursuit not only indispensable but ennobling as a means to life, and utterly deadening as an end of life—were apt to take the sentimental-pacifist view of international relations; and neither class offers good material out of which to build true National greatness. It was at this unpropitious time that Mahan began his labor to educate the American people to a knowledge of one group of their real needs. The first thing was to educate the navy itself. A governmental branch which is utterly neglected by the Nation at large tends to wither. Naval officers whose ships, when compared with those of contemporary European nations, were almost as obsolete as triremes, and who never had a chance to train themselves to handle modern weapons and instruments, grew disheartened and careless. Thirty years ago the average American citizen did not feel a much keener interest in the American navy than the present Administration at Washington feels. Mahan's task was to educate the naval officers first and the ordinary citizen next.

The War College and all that sprang therefrom were the first rewards of the work done by Mahan and by the Sampsons, Tay-

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lors, Evanses, Wainwrights, Schroeders, Winslows, and all the other fine naval officers to whom the revival of the navy was due. Slowly the effect broadened until the average American began to awake. Yet in his case the effect was partly reflex, for Mahan's really great success came in Europe, and especially in England, before it came here. The American public took him at his true worth only with reluctance, and after educated and far-seeing Englishmen had hailed him with relief and enthusiasm as the man of genius who was able to bring home to the minds of the people as a whole truths to which they would not listen when told by less gifted men. In dealing with our naval officers, in working for the navy from within the navy, Mahan was merely one among a number of first-class men; and many of these other first-class men were better than he was in the practical handling of the huge and complicated instruments of modern war. But in the vitally important task of convincing the masters of all of us—the people as a whole—of the importance of a true understanding of naval needs, Mahan stood alone. There was no one else in his class, or anywhere near it.

His first great book, "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," at a leap touched the high level which we connote when we describe a book as a classic. In this book he showed that combination of two great qualities which no other man of like eminence ever possessed in so high a degree; for the book could have been written only by a man steeped through and through in the peculiar knowledge and wisdom of the great naval expert who was also by instinct and training a statesman to whom the past and the present in all international matters of profound importance were open books whose inmost meaning he had mastered. Admiral Mahan was the only great naval writer who also possessed in international matters the mind of a statesman of the first class. His interest was in the larger side of his subjects; he was more concerned with the strategy than with the tactics of both naval war and statesmanship.

He wrote on the War of 1812, and on some naval phases of the Civil War; and what he wrote of the former ought to have taught the pacifists, and the short-sighted citizens generally, of this country what apparently nothing but the actual experience of terrible disaster will ever teach them. However, there was not in what he dealt with in our wars the large dramatic incident which was necessary in order to draw out his best power of narration. The lack was supplied in the wars that Great Britain waged against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The greatest admiral of history was the foremost figure in these naval wars; and he and the fighting in which he took part were portrayed by the master hand of the greatest naval writer in history when Mahan published his two books, one dealing generally with these wars and one specifically with the life of Nelson. These two books are in one way less noteworthy than his "Influence of Sea Power upon History," for their importance consists more in their treatment of the purely military than of the political problems. But he handled these problems in such masterly fashion, his style was so clear and vivid, and his taste and his judgment were both so good that these works probably marked the high water of his popularity and influence.

Later, the very fact that he had thus produced a profound effect upon contemporary thought and action prevented his further successes from being of such striking character. But his "Types of Naval Officers" was a study of the utmost value to all men who have to deal with serious military affairs on the ocean; and in 1910 he published a little volume on "America's Interest in International Conditions" which is of really capital importance to-day in view of the world war now waging. This book shows extraordinary insight into the then actually existing tendencies at work to produce the present gigantic contest.

Admiral Mahan's writings should be read by all who care for that kind of history in which events of real significance are treated with scientific insight and with literary power and charm. They should be studied with especial care by all Americans who desire to know what the real interest of their country demands in the way of thought and action from her sons and daughters.

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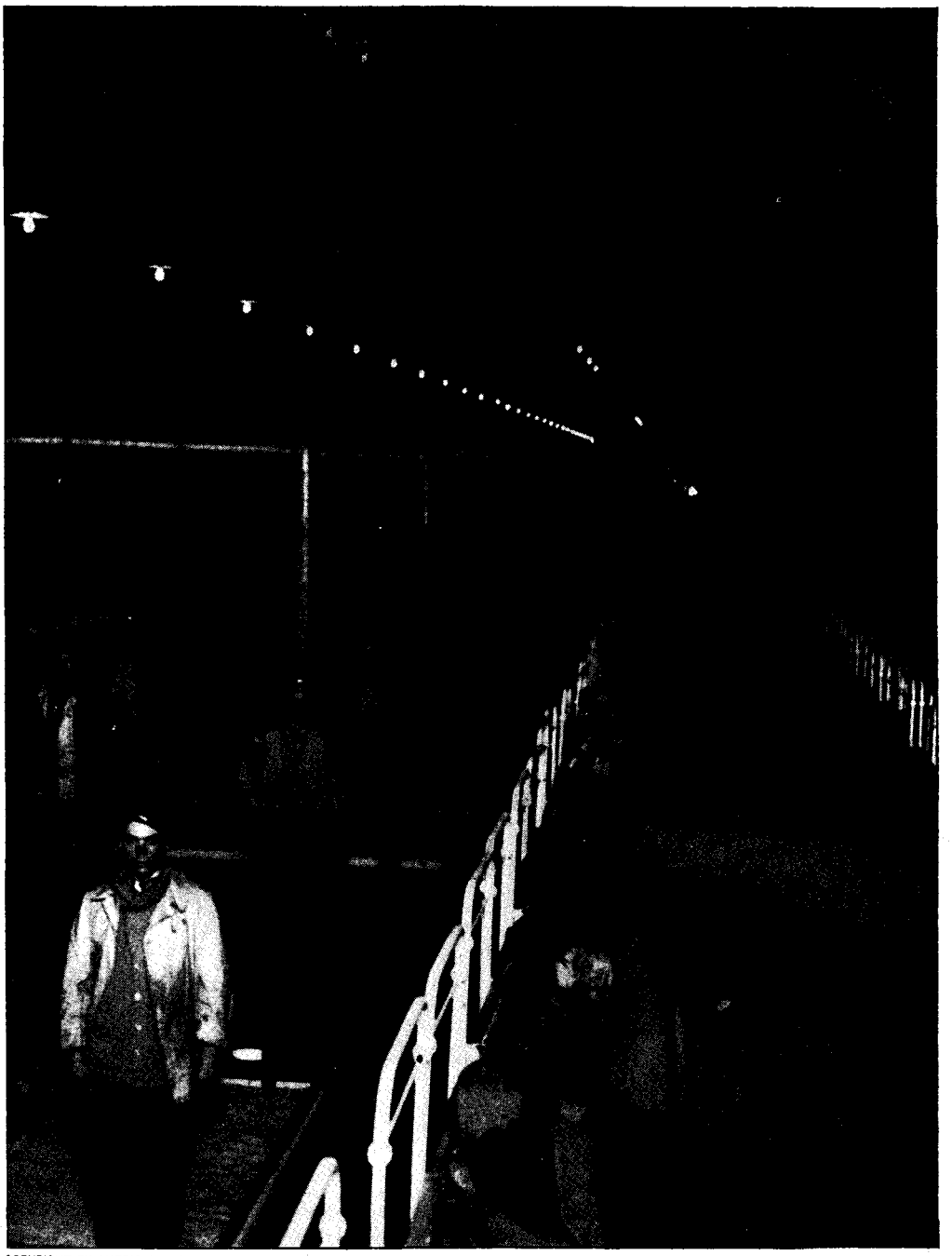
Current Events Pictorially Treated



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WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR THE UNEMPLOYED?

The city of New York, as shown in the above picture of a recreation pier, provides free lodgings for its "down and out" workers in the Municipal Lodging-House and elsewhere. They are thus kept from freezing; but this does not solve their problem of unemployment. See editorial pages for a discussion of the subject, which is of pressing importance at this season, and more than ever this year

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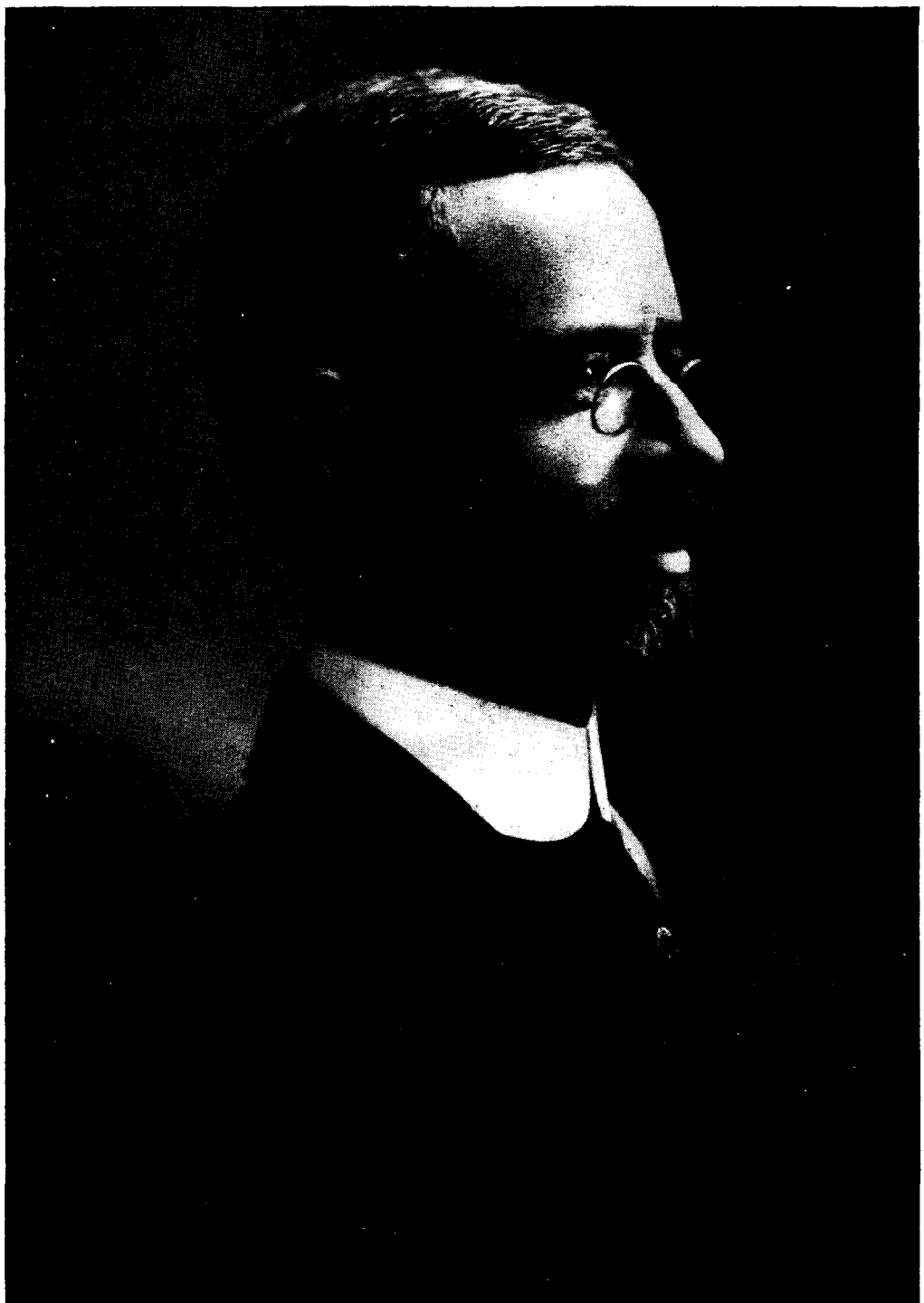

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Dr. Sidney Edward Mezes, whose portrait appears above, comes to his new position from Texas, where he was President of the State University. Dr. Mezes was born in California in 1863; graduated from the University of California in 1884; received the degree of Ph.D. from Harvard in 1893; became connected with the University of Texas in 1894, and has been its President since 1908. As President of the College of the City of New York he succeeds Dr. John H. Finley, who is now Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.

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PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT

JOSEPH ROCKWELL SWAN

A FORGOTTEN MAKER OF ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY

Judge Swan was "the chief actor in a drama of National importance" in anti-slavery days, as described in the article "One Still, Strong Man," by Dr. Washington Gladden, on page 95

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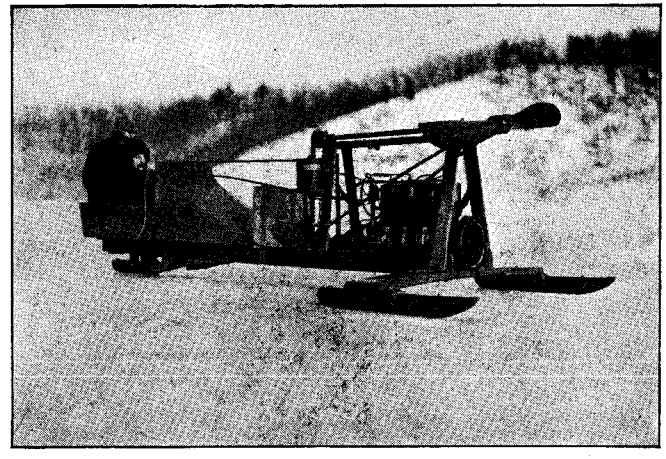

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL THOMPSON

SOME MOTOR VEHICLES FOR SPORT AND RECREATION ON THE ICE

In localities where there is continued cold weather and not too much snow these ice automobiles furnish means for most exhilarating but somewhat dangerous pleasure. Great speed has been attained with them, 140 miles an hour being the record as claimed by one operator. They are equipped with a motor apparatus, somewhat like that of an aeroplane, that makes them independent of the wind, in this respect excelling the familiar ice-boats furnished with sails

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PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

WINTER SCENE IN A DEMOCRACY THAT BELIEVES IN "PREPAREDNESS"

The photograph shows sentinels guarding the Swiss frontier. Switzerland stands emphatically for peace; but it has an army of 300,000 men under arms to resist any possible temptation on the part of bellicose neighbors to treat its neutrality as a "scrap of paper" Switzerland is a nation that is not only self-governing but self-defending. Its military policy is a model for republics. In the midst of jealous Powers it has kept the peace for a century

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"YOU BETCHA!"

A. R. Williams, special correspondent of The Outlook in Belgium, and a Belgo-American soldier, whose American phrase "You betcha" furnished a graphic description of the fighting. See Mr. Williams's article in this issue entitled "With the War Photographers in Belgium." Of this scene Mr. Williams writes: "The whole story is right there in the picture: Ridden serene, smiling, confident, and my sort of evasive hangdog look as though, in popular parlance, I had just 'got one put over' on me"

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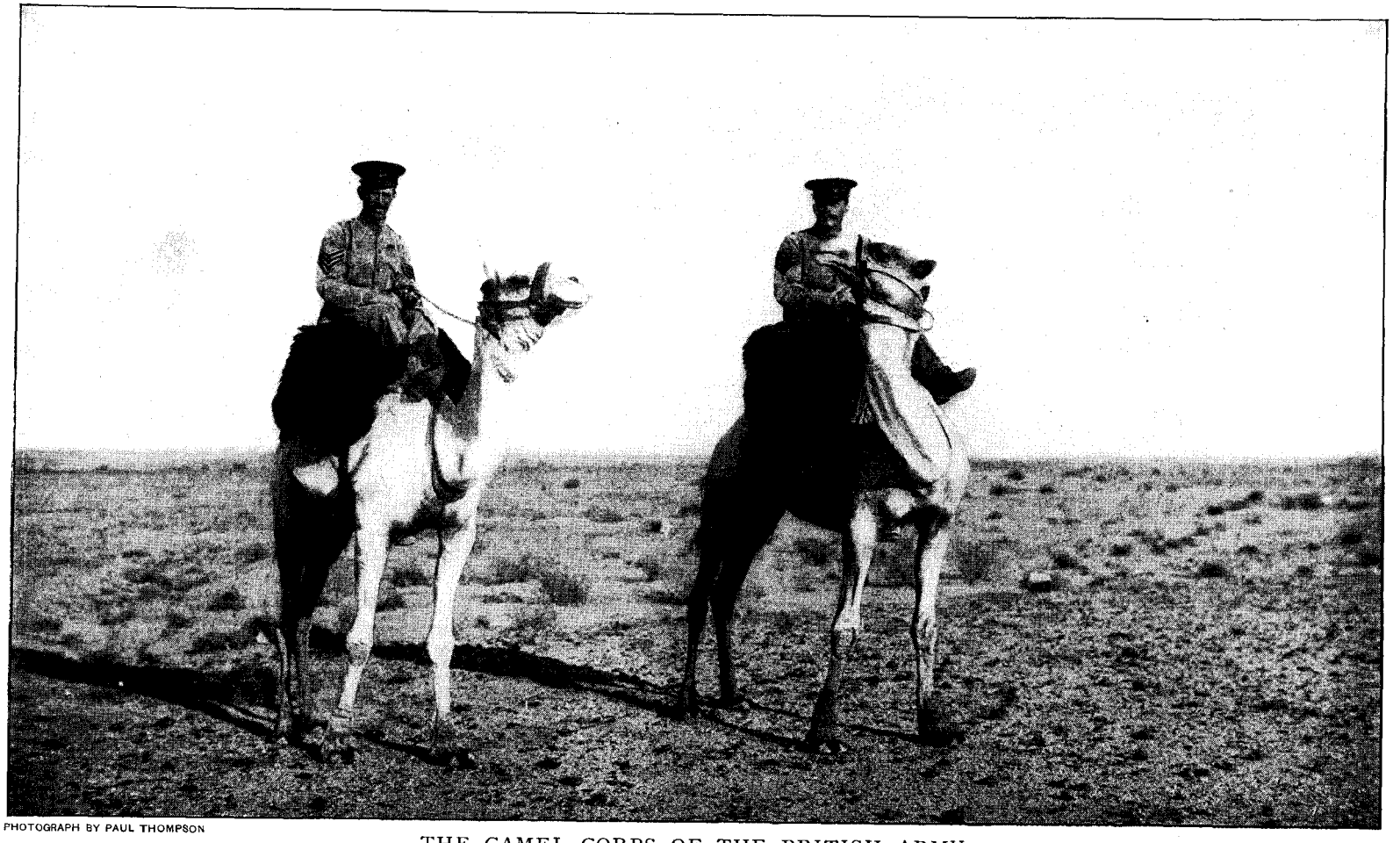

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THE CAMEL CORPS OF THE BRITISH ARMY

Camels have not as yet appeared as auxiliaries in Europe in the great war, but in Egypt, where the above picture was taken, they are greatly valued, and the Camel Corps is an indispensable branch of the service

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FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

"WATCH YOUR STEP!"

Cartoon by Marcus

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ONE STILL, STRONG MAN

BY WASHINGTON GLADDEN

IN the winter of 1882, when I made my home in Columbus, there was living in premises adjoining my own a venerable gentleman whom I soon came to know slightly, and in whose history I became profoundly interested. He had been, on one occasion, the chief actor in a drama of National importance. The story has not, so far as I know, been adequately told, and it is worth telling.

My neighbor's name was Joseph Rockwell Swan.[1] He was born in Oneida County, New York, in the second year of the nineteenth century, and, with such educational equipment as a New York academy could give him, he came to Columbus in his twenty-second year, and entered the law office of his uncle, Gustavus Swan, who was later one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Nation. Five years after his admission to the bar he was made prosecuting attorney of the county, and a few years later he was elevated to the Common Pleas bench, where he served with marked ability for eleven years. It was not a conspicuous position, but in the seven central counties of Ohio which formed his circuit he won for himself a great name by the dignity, probity, and thoroughness with which he discharged the judicial function. He had a genius for the disentanglement of legal snarls, and his discernment of what was just between man and man was keen and sure, and he made the law the servant and instrument of the eternal righteousness.

In 1850 Judge Swan was chosen a delegate to the Constitutional Convention by which was framed the organic law under which Ohio lived until recently. In this assembly his voice was influential. Four years later, upon a great wave of protest against the encroachments of the slave power in Kansas and Nebraska, he was chosen to the Supreme Bench of the State by a majority of eighty thousand. Respecting his service here, one who knew the State and the courts most intimately bears this testimony: "On the bench of the Supreme Court he fully sustained his earlier reputation as a judge, and probably held as high a place in the estimation of the bench, the bar, and the public as has ever been reached by any of the distinguished men who have adorned our judicial history. Wise, patient, firm, impartial, cautious, he never lost sight of the dignity of his high office, to which he brought unusual native vigor of mind, large stores of learning, untiring industry, and the most conscientious regard for the rights of litigants and the abhorrence of injustice and wrong."

Such is a meager outline of the early life of the quiet gentleman whom, as an octogenarian, I came to know a quarter of a century later. Judge Swan was never a man who blew his trumpet in the streets; he was shy, silent, retiring; he was fond of good books and quiet pleasures. By all his neighbors he was held in the highest regard. The literature of the law had been enriched by him with several important volumes—one of which, on the "Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace," passed through many editions, and has been one of the most useful law books ever written.

But Judge Swan, when I knew him, had been for many years a private citizen. I have spoken of his election, in 1854, to the Supreme bench of the State, and of the conspicuous ability and fidelity with which he discharged, for the next five years, the duties of that office. The end of this single term of service was the end of the public life of Joseph Rockwell Swan. His retirement from office at this time brings before us the most important act of his life, and the most dramatic incident, as I see it, in the history of Ohio.

The Fugitive Slave Law, with its drastic measures for the reclamation of bondmen and the punishment of those who aided their escape or refused to assist in their capture, had greatly exasperated the Northern people; the Dred Scott decision, that Negroes had no rights, had still further inflamed the popular mind; and the impending conflict, so long dreaded, was evidently about to burst upon the land. In such a tension of the popular mind that party is wisest which carefully keeps within the law. Overt acts of lawlessness, no matter how pure may be the sentiment that prompts them, invariably put their perpetrators in the wrong and leave the

[1] A portrait of Judge Swan appears in our picture section.—THE EDITORS.

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moral advantage with their antagonists. It was the clear understanding of this fact which characterized Lincoln's policy at the outbreak of the war. He forced the insurgents to take the initiative; there was no war until they began it; the defense of the Nation was then no longer a question with patriotic men.

There were people at the North less wise; even in Ohio there were those who did not feel the force of these considerations. The Fugitive Slave Law was highly repugnant to their moral sense; when it commanded them to aid in the capture of fugitives, they declined to obey it; and in this they would have been justified, but only on condition that they quietly accepted the penalty of the law and went to jail. In that way any citizen has a right to protest against an iniquitous law. But some of these good people were unwilling to make their protest in this way. They determined not only that they would not obey the law, but that they would flagrantly disobey it; and then, when they were arraigned before the courts of the United States and condemned to imprisonment, they proposed to secure from the State courts judicial action nullifying the decisions of the Federal courts and setting them at liberty. This was the policy which some very good men in Ohio undertook to inititate. It was in Wellington, I believe, that an assemblage of zealous persons—I will not call it a mob—rescued a fugitive slave from the officers of the law, the Federal officers. The two men who led in the rescue were arraigned before the District Court of the United States and convicted under the Federal statute, and sent to prison. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out, and they were brought before the Supreme Court of Ohio, in Columbus, which was asked to set them at liberty. The distinct proposition was that the State Court should override and annul the action of the United States Court—should assert the supremacy of State law over Federal law. This was what the Supreme Court of Ohio, with Judge Swan at the head of it, was asked to do.

Judge Swan could have had no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the party which had elected him demanded this action. While the case was pending a great mass-meeting was held in the public square in Cleveland—a meeting said to have been attended by ten or twelve thousand persons, over which Joshua R. Giddings presided, and at which many prominent Republicans spoke, all of whom were in favor of very drastic measures in resisting the execution of the law within the borders of Ohio. Governor Chase went up to that meeting from Columbus, and very emphatically stated that if the Supreme Court of Ohio should order the liberation of the prisoners, the order would be enforced; that he would see that the United States officers were not permitted to rearrest the prisoners. A direct collision between the authorities of the State and of the United States was thus explicitly threatened by the Governor of Ohio, and the situation was extremely critical.

No more eventful day ever occurred in the history of Ohio—few days more eventful have occurred in the history of the Nation—than the day on which this case was brought to trial in the chambers of our Supreme Court in Columbus. A direct conflict between the courts of the State and of the United States might easily have precipitated civil war.

It is true that those who were demanding the release of the prisoners argued that nothing of this kind would take place; that the United States authorities would simply let the prisoners go, and carry the case up to the Supreme Court of the United States for settlement there. This was a large assumption. What James Buchanan might have done we cannot confidently say, but if Andrew Jackson or Ulysses Grant or Grover Cleveland or Theodore Roosevelt or any other man with a backbone had been in the White House then, I do not think that he would have stood demurely by while the National authority was trampled under foot. A nation which permitted its sovereignty to be flouted in this way by local tribunals might as well have its obituary written.

To the judges on the bench in the Ohio State House it was a trying hour. Especially severe was the strain on the Chief Justice. On him rested the heaviest responsibility. So far as his personal fortunes were concerned the way was clear for him. His term was just expiring; the Convention for his renomination would meet within a week. He knew what the great majority of his party demanded of him; if he complied with that demand, his nomination was certain and his election would follow as a matter of course. If he failed to comply with that demand, his political doom was sealed. Would he not be justified in rendering a decision which leaders like Chase and Giddings and all the magnates

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of his party in the State, supported by the rank and file, were passionately urging? Were not these good men? Most certainly they were—honest, courageous, high-minded, philanthropic men. Why should he set his will and judgment against theirs?

The humane sentiments, too, added their strength to the appeal. The Fugitive Slave Law roughly set these sentiments at naught. Judge Swan's heart rebelled as stoutly as any man's against the severities of that law. He had refused, as a lawyer, over and over to take the cases of slave-owners who had come to Columbus seeking to reclaim fugitives; he would earn no money in that way. In one rather exciting case which came before him while he was on the bench of the Common Pleas Court his decision had given a slave girl her liberty. Whatever he could do within the law to break the shackles of the slave, or to mitigate his woes, he was more than willing to do. And there is no question that he sympathized to the fullest extent with the feelings and convictions of the anti-slavery people. Why should he not yield to the dictates of this benign sentiment, and to the overpowering demand of the people of Ohio, and set these prisoners at liberty? His personal fortunes, his desire for the esteem of his fellows, his humane feelings, all united to point out one path to him. Why should he not walk in it?

There was nothing in the way except his oath of office, his reverence for law, his sense of duty. To a good many people these obstacles would have been slight; to Judge Swan they were insuperable. The organic law of the United States which he had sworn to obey and honor expressly declares: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." The supremacy of the Nation over the States is the primary condition of National existence. If the Nation enacts laws which are obnoxious to the people of any State, the people of that State have a perfect right to labor with others for the repeal of those laws; but they have no right to use the legislature or the courts of that State to nullify those laws. A nation in which this was tolerated would not be a nation; it would have renounced its sovereignty. Judge Swan knew that the attempt to array the State Court against the Federal Court—to induce the former to reverse the decision of the latter, and to set free one who had been imprisoned by the latter—was nothing short of rebellion. The judicial nullification thus attempted was not different in principle from the legislative nullification which Calhoun had attempted in South Carolina. He had sworn to regard the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the land and the National authority as paramount over that of the States. He could not violate that oath, no matter how strongly self-interest might urge, or love of popularity prompt, or humane sentiment persuade.

It was a bright morning in May, 1859, when the decision was to be rendered in the Supreme Court chamber. It might have been delayed a few days, until after the meeting of the Republican Convention, but the Judge hastened its preparation; he was determined that the people who had the question of his renomination before them should act with their eyes open. From all parts of the State men had gathered at Columbus to hear the decision; it was felt that a crisis was at hand. That a rupture might occur between the State and the Nation was considered possible. It was even reported in the court-room, though there seems to have been no foundation for the rumor, that a Federal gunboat had been ordered to Cleveland to assist in maintaining the authority of the National Government. A day or two before the decision the Cincinnati "Gazette," a Republican organ, had said this:

"Will there be a collision of the State and the Federal authorities? And if so, what ought good citizens to do? To the first question we can only answer that if the Supreme Court of the State orders Bushnell and Langston to be brought before it at Columbus, or even to be released, it is the duty of the executive to see that order obeyed. And at Cleveland, in the presence of the mass convention, Governor Chase expressed himself very decidedly on this point. He will do his duty. What the Court will decide, however, we cannot undertake to say, nor how far the Federal officers, citizens of our own State, would undertake to resist should the decision favor the prisoners. But, should a collision occur, every good citizen must decide for himself whether he ought, in this case, to go with the Federal or with the State authorities. *The champions*

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of a centralizing federalism will back up the pretensions of the Federal Executive. Genuine State-rights men, anti-consolidationists, and friends of genuine popular sovereignty will maintain the rights of the State against a crushing central despotism. The great man of our people will undoubtedly stand by the State authorities." (The italics are mine.)

On the other hand, the "Statesman," published in Columbus, the Democratic organ, assuming that the Court would discharge the prisoners, had this to say:

"And what then? We apprehend the United States marshal will at once take Bushnell and Langston into custody and proceed to carry out the orders of the United States District Court. Governor Chase must come to the rescue, and a collision must at once ensue. Of the consequences to follow in case this contingency arises, we shall not speak. The Democratic party of Ohio and all Union-loving men will be found on the one side and the treasonable squad of abolitionists and disunionists on the other. The law of Congress will be sustained and traitors to the country, to law, government, and order, will be overwhelmed."

This is the kind of talk which was common in the newspapers and on the streets. With an atmosphere superheated by such discussions the Supreme Court room was filled on this May morning. How easy would it be for a spark to produce an explosion! How certain it must be, if this Court sets the State of Ohio in array against the Federal Government, that an outbreak will occur! Is it any wonder that the air quivers with suppressed excitement when the Chief Justice begins to read his decision?

The suspense is not protracted. The drift of the opinion is soon indicated. The clear, strong sentences, going straight to the heart of the issue, uphold the authority of the Nation and deny the power of the State to resist and defy the Central Government. Let me quote a few of these weighty words:

"With respect to the boundary of jurisdiction between the Federal and State government, I do not desire to say anything but this: that when Congress has undertaken to enforce by legislation a right guaranteed by the Constitution itself—after the power has been recognized by all the highest judicial tribunals of the Union before whom the question has been presented in the country for sixty-six years; and if, superadded to these circumstances, the Federal tribunals, in cases arising under the Constitution, repeatedly hold that Congress has the power—it is too late for the courts of Ohio, upon their private judgment, to deny the power.

"The sense of justice of the people of Ohio has been shocked by some of the unjust provisions of the Fugitive Act. It is not the authority of Congress to legislate that they deny, but the abuse of the power. That abuse is to be remedied by Congress; and if the power to legislate is denied, the question can be put an end to by repeal. It is the only Constitutional mode left. The other alternative is intestine war and resistance of our National Government.

"For myself, as a member of the Court, I disclaim the judicial power of disturbing the settled construction of the Constitution of the United States as to the legislative authority of Congress upon this subject, and I must refuse the experiment of introducing disorder and governmental collision."

The decision closes with a few words which are likely to be as memorable as any in the history of Ohio jurisprudence:

"As a citizen I would not deliberately violate the Constitution or the law by interference with fugitives from service. But if a weary, frightened slave should appeal to me to protect him from his pursuers, I might momentarily forget my allegiance to the law and the Constitution and give him a covert from those who were on his track. There are, no doubt, many slaveholders who would thus follow the instincts of human sympathy. And if I did it, and was prosecuted, condemned, and imprisoned, and brought by my counsel before this tribunal on a habeas corpus, and was then permitted to pronounce judgment on my own case, I trust I should have the moral courage to say before God and my country, as I am now compelled to say, under the solemn duties of a Judge, bound by the Constitution and the law, '*The prisoner must be remanded.*'"

Two of the judges concurred with the Chief Justice, two dissented. The case was settled by a bare majority of the Court. But it was settled. Ohio was not to be launched into rebellion against the United States Government. The National integrity, so powerfully assailed, was successfully defended.

I have spoken of Judge Swan's part in the case, but I do not wish to ignore the courage and firmness of those who stood with him. The reason why special emphasis is placed

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on his action is not merely that he was the Chief Justice and the leading member of the Court, not merely that he wrote and delivered the opinion, but that he was the only member of the Court whose personal fortunes were then at stake. Politically, I believe all the Judges were attached to the same party. That the two deserting Judges were conscientious and honorable men I do not for a moment question, but it is a little easier to go with the current than to stem it, and the feeling in favor of the release of the prisoners ran high in that court-room and throughout the State.

Consider what would have happened if Judge Swan, to say nothing of the others, had yielded to personal ambition and popular pressure. The prognostications of the newspapers, already quoted, indicate the probable consequences. The Governor would have undertaken to enforce the decree of the Ohio Court. He had publicly pledged himself to do so, and he would not have hesitated. I know that he was offered the loan of money necessary to mobilize the militia for such a conflict; I do not know that he entertained the overture, and I cannot find any record of military orders given in preparation for such an emergency. I do not think that the thing ever got so far as that. But the distinct declaration that the decree of the Supreme Court would be enforced is not questioned. In such a case the President, if the spirit of a man had been in him, must have insisted on the enforcement of the judgment of the District Court, and the State of Ohio would have found itself in rebellion against the National Government.

How serious this conflict might have been no man can say. But this much is certain: Ohio, by her own rebellion against the General Government, would have been forever estopped from complaining, a year and a half later, of South Carolina when she rebelled. If the Northern States had begun to defy the Federal authority in the manner here proposed, they would have had no case against secession two years later. For it was less than two years after this that Ohio was sending regiments to Washington to put down with cannon and bayonets the very doctrine of States' rights which her Supreme Court was now besought to affirm. Suppose that Ohio had put herself in the wrong on this question. Could Ohio have sent regiments to Washington? Other Northern States might have followed Ohio's example. In any case, such an outbreak would have paralyzed the arm of the Nation when it undertook to deal with Southern secession. The great body of conservative Union men at the North would have said, in reply to Mr. Lincoln's first call for troops: "You radicals began this war; now you can fight it out."

The irrepressible conflict was hastening on; no power could stay it; but with such acts as those which the eager populace demanded of our Ohio Court we should have disabled ourselves on the very threshold. What the consequences of such a course would have been it is useless to conjecture; but it might easily have been a divided North and a dismembered Nation. That Ohio was kept from plunging into the current which was flowing directly toward this cataract of disaster was due mainly to the firmness and strength of one man, whose just mind could not be influenced by ambition nor swayed by clamor, "one still, strong man in a blatant land."

Of course the Convention of his party threw him overboard the next week without a sign of relenting; his public life was ended. It had fallen to his lot to render his State and his country such a service as few men have ever been able to render; his recompense was to be ostracized and banished from power. It would be hard, I dare say, to find a respectable lawyer in Ohio to-day who would deny that his decision was exactly right, but I doubt whether many of the citizens of the State have ever been fully aware of the tremendous political blunder—worse, almost, than a crime—from which his probity delivered the Commonwealth.

I think that a monument is due him. There is no place in Capitol Square too choice for it. Let it stand there in bronze, under the midday brightness, under the steadfast stars, silent and firm as he was in the flesh; and if we wish our children to know the truth, let us write upon the pedestal:

"This is the man who in a great crisis by his courage and constancy held back his well-meaning neighbors from plunging the State into a withering abyss of rebellion and anarchy."

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THE SPECTATOR

FOR the first time in a long and checkered career the Spectator last fall thoroughly succumbed to the intoxication of the autumn woods. To be sure, he has always gloried in the tapestried colors that riot over autumn hillsides. But he has been content to take his fall landscapes in the large, limiting his close-range acquaintance to a stroll or two through well-cut forest paths, or perhaps the climbing of some genteelly moderate eminence for an outlook over the frost-mellowed world. All the time he knew he was missing something, that to get the best of the season he should hang about the silent woods all by himself, smell the russet scents, hear the sere leaves loose their moorings in the tree-tops and come pivoting softly down, and take leisurely note of the small niceties of nature's autumn handiwork. The mischief is that, blaze as they will, the leafy fires of early October will not warm a man's blood if he sits very long on a cold stone considering the beauties of nature; and the Spectator, being no sportsman, nor yet young enough to enter heatedly into the pursuit of nuts, lacked any incentive to keep him actively prowling in the woods. He lacks it no more, having caught (or shall we say having been caught by ?) that most delightful of diseases—the mushroom fever.

It came about like this. He was visiting on the Canadian shore of Lake Erie. One afternoon as the shadows were lengthening there came rattling up the road behind the house a small farmer's wagon driven by a neighbor with whom the Spectator was wont to golf. He drew rein and beckoned with an air of vast mystery, jumping down and peering significantly into the back of the cart. The Spectator hurried out, confident that he should find some wild creature in a cage. In the bottom of the wagon rolled six large, round, improbable-looking, dingy-white objects about as big as turban squashes. "Puffballs," the golf fiend murmured, gloatingly, answering the question in the Spectator's face. "Aren't they beauties? Of course they got a trifle grimy in the bottom of the cart."

"Um-m," temporized the Spectator, regarding the slightly warty surface of the things with doubt. "What do you do with 'em?"

"*Do* with them? Eat 'em, you heathen! Most delicious thing you ever tasted in your life! There's a square meal for a family in each one of those—more nourishment than pounds and pounds of beefsteak. Got 'em on the edge of the maple woods. You take that in to your hostess, you miserable skeptic! She knows a mushroom when she sees it. You'll hear her whoop for joy."

"But aren't they dangerous?" The Spectator caught his arm.

"Puffballs? Dangerous? My dear fellow, you come and tell me to-morrow what you thought of your supper!"

The Spectator's hostess was too refined to whoop, no doubt, but she did a slight war dance of glee when she beheld that vegetable football in the Spectator's hand. It was the cook's night out, and she had been preparing to create a wonderful salad. Now she swept the ingredients back to the ice-box and brought out a bright copper chafing-dish instead. "Poor Henry telephoned he won't be out till after tea, and if there's anything he dotes on it's puffballs," she said, regretfully. As she bustled about setting the table she instructed the Spectator how to peel the great white ball and cut it into thick, firm slices that looked like very desirable cream cheese. Meanwhile she dropped words of wisdom. "So long as it's perfectly white inside you needn't be afraid of any round ball of a mushroom, from the size of a marble up, that sits on the ground without any stem. If it's the least bit yellowish, though, when you break it open, or isn't firm, you throw it away." So seriously, almost solemnly, did she treat the occasion, that the Spectator found his heart beating more quickly as she carefully laid a fat white slice into the sizzling butter in her blazer. He felt he was witnessing a rite. "When it breaks into a cold perspiration," she said, peering under the lid, "it's a sign it's done. There! don't you wait an instant! The flavor escapes."

When, within the week, the Spectator moved on to a lovely country place on the

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St. John River, one of the first questions he put to his new entertainers was the anxious one, "Are there puffballs up here?" There were a few scattered about, he was told, too small to be worth gathering. But if edible mushrooms were an object, he had come to the right shop. His host was a mycologist of local repute, his particular hobby the testing of food fungi. That very day two of his fellow-members in the Royal Society of Canada dropped in to luncheon. The talk was mostly beyond the Spectator's depth; but, sitting back and catching what he could, he made up his mind that the popular prejudice against "toadstools" was like most popular prejudices—half buncombe. He was prepared to stroll out after lunch and nibble any mushroom that chanced to please his fancy. How his eyes were opened he will proceed to tell.

The three botanists courteously took him along when they plunged into the depths of a bit of wild woodland on the place and began gathering and discussing. They had their pocket microscopes and a ponderous tome, and their words soon got so big that the Spectator was driven to find *his* book in the running brook, his sermon in the chatter of a squirrel which impudently pelted him from the top of a tall tree. When he wandered back to the fungosophers after an interval of perhaps half an hour, he found them gathered in anxious conclave about a most negligible-looking toadstool. They had laid it out on white paper and induced it to deposit a shadowy dust they called spores. They had put the wretched thing through a scientific third degree, subjecting its minutest details to searching scrutiny through their bright little lenses, and now they were nearing a conclusion. That helpless fungus was—yes, they positively declared it to be—*Agaricus spuriosus*. (The Spectator *may* have caught the name amiss—he is no scientist.) Anyhow, it was *Agaricus* something-or-other, and EDIBLE! The pronouncement officially made, the Spectator's host picked up that shrimp of a mushroom and took a bite. "Oh, M.!" cried the Royal Society men, excitedly; "I wouldn't *eat* it!" And M. went modestly behind a tree and spat it out!

As soon as he could get his breath, the Spectator demanded why these things were so. "It's most unwise," the fungosophers replied, "to proceed to the point of eating a specimen upon such superficial examination—that is, you know, when the specimen closely resembles a highly poisonous species, as in this case." With that they proceeded to raise the Spectator's hair with tales of popes, emperors, and kings who have paid with their lives for a too-confiding rush into experimental fungi-testing. They dragged him farther afield and held up before his despairing eyes two mushrooms, looking to his untutored gaze as like as two peas, one of which, they assured him, would but impart a delicate flavor to a wholesome ragout. The other contained toxins which, introduced into his system even in small quantity, would paralyze his heart action and arrest most of his vital functions—in short, do him grievously to death. He was feeling distinctly shriveled, when his hostess, dressed for the woods, appeared on the scene. She seemed to take in the situation at a glance. "Oh," she said, reproachfully, "why do you scare him to death just when he was getting nicely interested? You come with me"—she waved a basket she carried—"and I'll show you where to get the loveliest mushrooms for tea."

The Spectator must have cast sheep's-eyes toward the delegation from the Royal Society, for they laughed. "Oh, yes," they chorused. "You can trust her with your valuable life. She's scientific, and she's safe." So he followed the lady down through the rustling, fragrant woods to the road far below. The brook which meandered so discreetly through his host's ferny grove seemed demoralized by having to burrow under the highway; for it made of the picturesquely disheveled woods on the other side a dank morass. The Spectator silently prayed that he might not be asked to flounder in that cold pitfall of water-soaked logs and seepy ground as he saw the lady's glance straying over every little mossy promontory jutting out into the bog. "The way for a layman to do, Mr. Spectator," she was saying, "is to get somebody who knows to teach him a few varieties of fungi that he can eat without the slightest risk—kinds that cannot possibly be mistaken for deadly ones. Now there," she halted, "there's a kind you ought to know." Following her eyes, the Spectator became aware of a glow of soft yellow under the ferns. He stooped to extract from the moss what looked like a mushroom-umbrella turned inside out. Saffron and

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cream was the color. While he stood admiring its crumpled curves and sniffing its almost fruity fragrance, the lady mycologist was scouting about. Now she laid in his hand a delicate little pearl-gray "toadstool" and bade him believe that the two were first cousins. "Both chanterelles," she said, and made him note how, in place of the thin, blade-like gills found under the cap of the market mushroom, these showed blunt ridges or ribs, and the ridges were *forked*. "If you'll look every time for the forked gills," said his mentor, "you may nibble those little gray ones as fast as you find them. They have a delicious nutty flavor." So the Spectator, nibbling, and secretly much puffed up to be eating thus confidingly out of nature's hand, followed along the margin of the bog and up a wooded slope, thrashing his way through the bristling underbrush and raking the ground with covetous eyes. He was amazed at the untold hordes of modest toadstools—dull white, leaf brown, or mousy gray—silently pushing their tiny umbrellas upward out of the mold. Dozens of them were edible, he was told, though not to be distinguished by a novice like himself. He rather resented that "novice," to tell the truth. He felt he was getting on. Just then, with a little cheer of triumph, he pounced upon a company of neat gray chanterelles, and straightway began to pop them one after the other into his mouth. Complacently savoring that nutty taste, he suddenly woke up to a mouthful of pepper!

His spluttering protest brought the mycologist to his side. But she showed neither sympathy nor concern. "I knew you'd do that. It isn't deadly. But see, sir, the gills *don't* fork, and when you break this it shows the milky juice that proclaims the *Lactarius*. Have you had your lesson? Can I trust you now?" The Spectator "'lowed" she might. Somehow his zest for lunching off the face of nature had lost its keenness. He was the freer to feast his eyes, which now chanced to fall on the purest, frailest bit of color rising from out a jungle of starry moss beside the path. Stem and delicate gills were coral-white, the cap a clear rose-red. The mycologist came to see what he was exclaiming about. "It's not edible," she remarked indifferently, regarding him out of the tail of her eye. "At least *we* don't eat *Russulas*." "Edible!" cried the Spectator, indignantly; "that exquisite thing! I'd as soon think of eating an annunciation lily!" The mycologist looked elated. "So sits the wind in that quarter?" said she. "Well, if beauty and not provender is what your soul desires, *these* woods are nothing! I can take you where the fungi are lovely as sea-shells, or orchids, or jewels."

She was as good as her word. In deep timber woods a mile down the road, where the foot fell silent in springy moss, she showed the Spectator a few of the myriad pretty changes nature rings on the mushroom theme. He gathered a dozen fantastic forms he would never have suspected to be fungi at all. There were cups and clubs and brackets on fallen logs, and vivid yellow *Mitrulas* looking like the folded buds of spring flowers, and the golden-brown saddles of *Helvella*. Some kinds looked like seaweed, others like branching coral. The basket was soon lightly piled with fragile parasols—shell pink, salmon and claret, pale green and faintest violet. There were the waxy little *Hygrophorus* in daring combinations of vermilion and yellow; and the big thick-capped *Boletus*, whose flesh, when broken, mysteriously changed from white to indigo or violet or Satanic red.

Had not hard frosts put an end to the pageant of color, the Spectator would be madly collecting fungi in New Brunswick yet. As it is, he can hardly wait for the year to come round again to the sere and yellow leaf.

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THE NEW BOOKS

SOME MAKERS OF HISTORY

Two splendid volumes,[1] richly flavored fruit of the recreations of a scholar, commemorate men who for two centuries have been making American history. A gallery of noble characters it is—Yale's Hall of Fame. A monument of the men, their characters and their deeds, it is much more. Their letters and other contemporary records impart to it the realism of active life, depict their college world in its antique color, and mirror the character and manners of their times in many a vivid reminiscence.

We hear the new graduates of 1778 addressed as "Sir Meigs," "Sir Barlow," etc. We see freshmen taking off their hats within ten rods of the president, eight rods of the professor, and five of a tutor; or when addressing or addressed by an upper classman, and performing "all reasonable Errands for any superior." One of them writes in 1766, "Freshmen have attained almost the happiness of negroes." We hear students conversing with one another in Latin, if they obeyed the rules, which also required every one to "exercise himself in Reading Holy Scriptures by himself every Day." The aristocratic spirit of our Colonial period is reflected in lists of students named in order corresponding to the social rank of families, magistrates' sons at the top, mechanics' sons at the bottom. This conformed to the New England custom which, before a new meeting-house was occupied, "dignified" it by assigning the seats according to the social position of the brethren—the most eligible for the squire, etc. Most churches still tolerate that undemocratic custom in a modern form. Reading on, we visit Commons, inspect its menus, and note, now the daily allowance of two pints of beer per man, again the frequency of "salt beef and dry cod." We see how football was played in 1787 and 1850, and the prowess of the college "Bully," protagonist in the encounters of Town and Gown. These and other memorabilia of past generations, their pranks and turbulence not omitted, bring back in picturesque reality the actors and the witnesses whose letters chronicle their experience.

[1] Memorials of Eminent Yale Men. A Biographical Study of Student Life and University Influences during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. By Anson Phelps Stokes. Volume I. Religion and Letters. Volume II. Science and Public Life. Yale University Press, New Haven. $10.

The late Principal Cunningham, of St. Andrew's University, pointing to a cabinet of silver trophies won in archery when every English archer boasted of carrying in his quiver a Scottish life for every arrow, said to the present writer: "The history of Scotland for those times could be written in biographies of these winners." Precious pages of American history are in these memorials of eminent Yalensians. No unimportant part of it is the history of origins, for, as Hesiod said twenty-eight centuries ago, "The beginning is half of the whole."

The modern humanitarian movement now richly developing looks back to its morning star in the idealism of Jonathan Edwards, the ablest metaphysician of the century between Leibnitz and Kant. His pupil, Samuel Hopkins, Mrs. Stowe's hero in "The Minister's Wooing," began in Rhode Island the movement which culminated eighty years later in the Emancipation Proclamation. The missionary Whitman's famous exploit in leading the first emigrant train across the Rockies to the wilds of Oregon was outdone eighty years earlier by Manasseh Cutler, clergyman and statesman, after a four months' march from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to the wilds of Ohio, to effect a compact and systematic settlement of the country. Its organization under the Ordinance of 1787, framed as he suggested, and adopted by Congress for the government of the Northwest Territory, historians of note have placed next in influence in our history to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

American development in science has for a century owed more to its patriarch, Benjamin Silliman, than to any other. Yale's Sheffield Scientific School looks back to him as its precursor. The electric wires that knit all continents into daily converse point to Morse as their originator. Our Weather Bureau's daily service as National monitor is the monument of Elias Loomis's devotion to the then new science of meteorology. Our agricultural experiment stations in their growing promise look back to Samuel W. Johnson in 1857 as "himself the first" of them. The United States Geological Survey, generally regarded as the most valuable scientific activity of our Government, was conceived, organized, and efficiently started in 1879 by Clarence King. In an inconspicuous field of philanthropy myriads of unfortunates have for a century blessed the name of Gallaudet,

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founder of deaf-mute instruction in this country. Everybody has heard of Whitney, inventor of the cotton gin, that has eclipsed gold mines as a wealth-producer. Few who now shudder at the havoc of submarine warfare have heard of David Bushnell as its father during our war for independence. The torpedo was invented on the Yale campus before his graduation. Of his submarine "American Turtle" and what it could do his biography here gives a graphic account.

Years ago Yale was well called "Mother of Colleges." She supplied Princeton with her first three presidents, and many of our most representative colleges drew their earliest presidents from her, *e.g.*, Dickinson, of Princeton; Johnson, of Columbia; Wheelock, of Dartmouth; Baldwin, of Georgia; Gilman, of Johns Hopkins; Harper, of Chicago; Johnston, of Tulane, each commemorated here. In the history of American education the pre-eminent name is that of Yale's greatest President, Timothy Dwight, a figure of National influence. "For a grand personality and power," said the late Senator Hoar, "Dr. Dwight was the most striking man among American college presidents who ever filled that office." He laid in the eighteenth-century college the foundations of the present university. He initiated the modern method of discipline by personal influence in place of discipline enforced by penalty.

Like Dwight's historical significance for the evolution of the university from the college was that of Horace Bushnell, a half-century later, for the transition from mediæval to modern theology. In the same group of great divines which Edwards leads is Samuel Seabury, honored as the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church, and the initiator of its historical development. Here also are found, with other great names, those of Lyman Beecher, that fearless fighter for reforms; Moses Stuart, the founder in America of the modern Biblical scholarship that has unfettered religious thought; and Peter Parker, founder of modern medical missions. Among Yale's distinguished scholars the most widely known is "Sir Webster," the lexicographer by whom above all others American orthography and pronunciation were standardized. How greatly orthography needed him a century ago these volumes reveal in many a specimen of its anarchic liberty. In authorship a striking figure is that of John Trumbull, the incomparable child recorded as having passed the college entrance examination in 1757, before his eighth birthday, wisely postponing entrance for six years. In furthering our National independence his poem "M'Fingal" was as effective as Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was for Negro emancipation. About forty editions of it were sold in this country and in England. The name of James Fenimore Cooper is conspicuous as the first American author whose books were translated and read extensively in other lands.

The chartered purpose of Yale's founders, to train men "for Publick Employment both in Church & Civil State," has been well fulfilled. Up to 1858 Yale had furnished one hundred and twenty members of Congress, Princeton and Harvard coming next. Stars of the first magnitude in her constellation of statesmen, lawyers, and jurists are Manasseh Cutler, above mentioned; John C. Calhoun; and John Middleton Clayton, negotiator of the famous Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain, foundation work for an internationalized Panama Canal. Here also are Chancellor Kent, the "American Blackstone," peer of Marshall and Story, and Chief Justice Smith, of Canada, who nearly a century ahead of his time laid the constitutional foundations of the present Dominion. As nobly in war as in peace have the sons of Yale served the State in perilous times ever since Major-General Phineas Lyman led the Colonials through seven years of French and Indian war. Outstanding among these patriots is the National figure of the youthful scholar Nathan Hale, whose statues in New York's City Hall Park and Yale's campus still call his countrymen to unselfish service of the Republic.

The ruling motive of the Connecticut ministers who founded Yale in 1701 was religion, purposing with education as her handmaid to "train youth to godliness and virtue"—so Harvard had already expressed it—both by disciplining thought and by harnessing it to practical service. Conservative as were those founders, a half-century had not passed before their progeny brought forth the then called "New Divinity"—better known since as the New England theology. This, with Edwards as its pioneer, began that undermining of the traditional Calvinism which his successors worked at till it collapsed on the eve of the present century. Equally noteworthy is the historic leadership of Yale in missionary enterprise, at first in educational as well as evangelistic effort for the Christianizing of the Indian tribes. Of this Dart-

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mouth College, whose genesis as an Indian school these volumes relate, is the historic monument. Later and world-wide fruit of it has become internationally important—the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in whose genesis and leadership for its first thirty years Yale was conspicuously prominent. The chief foreign missionary library in this country is now housed there, with the first university professorship of missions.

In this roll of honor the criterion for inclusion is, in most instances, "a constructive contribution of broad or enduring significance to the history, thought, or inspiration of the American people." It includes one hundred and fifty-eight names in two separate groups of the illustrious dead. The first contains the somewhat more significant, with their biographies and twenty striking portraits; the second, the slightly less such, with brief memoirs. Over three-fourths of all these ranked as Phi Beta Kappa men—a fact evincing a close relation between good scholarship in college and subsequent distinction. But whether as makers of National history or of the family history of the Yale brotherhood, they still live in noble characters they helped to mold, in the standards they set, the ideals and the spirit they left enshrined, religious, democratic, patriotic, liberally conservative, a heritage for coming generations.

This *genius loci*, the atmosphere of such a university, an endowment transcending all that the wealth of Crœsus can create to-day, is invaluable for its educational influence. It is such historic institutions as Harvard and Yale with their centuries of continuous corporate life, and their next younger sisters, with the myriad progeny of them all, that we are to count on as factors of continuity in our National development. From their influences, both inspirational and stabilizing, must come the statesmanlike leadership which our democracy needs in these changing and unsettling times. In view of such considerations these volumes, especially as forerunners of those to be looked for from Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, and others, are a work of National consequence.

Outlines of International Law. By Charles H. Stockton. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

In the present confused and threatening condition of international affairs questions of international law are coming up every day; and a treatment of the subject which embodies recent developments and modern views is of importance, not only to statesmen, but to individuals who would like to talk intelligently upon matters under current discussion. The author of this book is a Rear-Admiral of the United States (retired), is President of the George Washington University, was a delegate from this country to the London Naval Conference, and has written other books relating to specific phases of international law.

A mere glance at the volume shows that its treatment of such subjects as the Panama Canal tolls question, the rights of aliens in time of war, the development of the doctrines of neutrality and of contraband of war, and a dozen other topics which have come to the front in a vital way in connection with the world war, is simple and clear.

Wonder of Life (The). By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., LL.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $3.50.

This is written, not only for advanced scientists, but for students and for all who take an interest in natural history and biology. As the title indicates, the work deals, not with things well known, but with things of a peculiar, and in some cases phenomenal, character. It can hardly be called a popular book, yet it contains much that is strange and truly wonderful. There are a hundred or more drawings and colored plates.

The book confirms and emphasizes the truth of one of Goethe's aphorisms, translated by Huxley, and quoted here as an introduction to the chapter on "The Modes of Animal Behavior." "Nature," says Goethe, "has neither language nor discourse; but she creates tongues and hearts, by which she feels and speaks." And again: "Each of her works has an essence of its own, each of her phenomena a special characterization, and yet their diversity is in unity."

Practical Book of Period Furniture (The). By H. D. Eberlein and Abbot McClure. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $5.

Books about antique furniture with beautiful pictures thereof are both common and fascinating. What is noteworthy about this book is that it is educative and informative in a systematic way as to its subject. The claim of the title in the word "practical" is justified. The right way to study furniture is by period, but it is a difficult way unless a book is well indexed and well arranged. The present work not only has these advantages but has a chronological key with 113 cuts; through this key periods may be compared and articles identified as to period.

The authors make a good point in asserting that all good modern furniture reproduces the old, and that it is right only when it is true to period. The fashionable shop which, to the author's knowledge, showed a piece with Queen

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Anne legs, Sheraton top, and William and Mary handles should get a copy of the book.

King George of Greece. By Captain Walter Christmas. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $4.

The late King George of Greece has been variously estimated. Many people saw him summer after summer at Aix-les-Bains, and of course saw him "on undress parade," when the less serious side of his character was in evidence. Fewer foreigners saw him in his own country, where he was every inch a king. In Captain Christmas's book we have a vivid portrait of the monarch as he appeared in Greece. In connection with it we have a very valuable view of the recent wars undertaken by Greece, as well as of the condition of Greece herself. The Greek nation was fortunate in finding in King George just the kind of man needed to guide it in its difficult and dangerous time of rebirth.

Famous War Correspondents. By F. Lauriston Bullard. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.

The present embargo placed on war correspondents brings out in bold relief the liberty which they formerly enjoyed—their ability to cross frontiers and to send uncensored telegrams. It would seem as if the days of the war correspondent had come to an end as one reflects on what has been and what is. And what a galaxy of brilliant names comes to mind!—Forbes, MacGahan, Millet Villiers, Steevens, Russell, Bennet Burleigh, and the rest. Of these men we have an admirable description in this book.

THE READER'S VIEW

A LITTLE-KNOWN CHAPTER IN HISTORY

Early in 1870 Lord Clarendon, the British Foreign Secretary, was asked by the French Government to endeavor to bring about an agreement between France and Germany for simultaneous disarmament. The reasons for desiring it advanced by France were that she feared Socialism and revolution, and wanted to appease the agricultural class, on whom her existing Government leaned for support, by an abatement of taxes and of the demand for recruits. Moreover, her Government expressed itself as unwilling to assume the responsibility, in the eyes of France and of the world, for the armaments and attendant expenses which even then were regarded as exaggerated.

In transmitting the proposal, February 2, 1870, Lord Clarendon wrote: "But it is in the general interest of Europe, of peace, and of humanity that I desire to invite the attention of Count Bismarck to the enormous standing armies that now afflict Europe by constituting a state of things that is neither peace nor war, but which is so destructive of confidence that men almost desire war, with all its horrors, in order to arrive at some certainty of peace—a state of things that withdraws millions of hands from productive industry and heavily taxes the people for their injury and renders them discontented with their rulers. It is a state of things, in short, that no thoughtful man can contemplate without sorrow and alarm, for this system is cruel, it is out of harmony with the civilization of our age, and it is pregnant with danger."

The suggestion was, of course, promptly rejected by Bismarck.

My comment on the episode is: that at that time Louis Napoleon was no longer a menace to anybody, that France made the proposal through Lord Clarendon, in good faith, and that had it been accepted the world would have been spared much that has since followed in the direction of the race for armaments, and the multiplication of a military class whose presence in the state in large numbers provides an influential group always inclined to war and exerting constant pressure on the government to that end. Above all, it would have been spared the untold miseries of the present conflict, the great area of which is due to the grouping of the Powers, in turn brought about by Prussian militarism, since England would not have laid aside her hereditary friendship for Germany but for this. As we know, Bismarck's dream from very youth was the consolidation of Germany. That was a good thing for Germany, but the Iron Chancellor felt that he had to war on Austria and strike down France in order to accomplish it, and the process was pretty hard on his neighbors.

Just in the same way to-day Germany shows that she regards her own interests as the world's interests, and will stop at no suffering which may come to the outside world as a consequence of her ambitions. THEODORE MARBURG.

"YOU-ALL"

The Spectator has another guess coming on the Southern "you-all." In The Outlook for December 16 he made a mountaineer say to the "bachelor friend," "I reckon you-all wouldn't 'a' lived fifty years in these parts without gittin' you a wife." As if any one to the manner born would say "you-all" in addressing one person, meaning, as in this case, him alone! "You-all" differentiates the plural of the second person from the singular, which is always "you." A friend of the family may inquire over

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the 'phone, "How are 'you-all' feeling?" He means "you and the others there," never "you alone," as does the physician who, in a certain Northern lady's novel of Southern life, leans over his patient and asks gently, "Wouldn't 'you-all' like to sit up a while this morning?" Among many others, the writer of the legend for the "ads" of a celebrated cereal also blazons his imperviousness to this Southern idiom by making the big white-capped darky cook use "you-all" as never a Southerner born, black or white, uses it.

A recent meeting of the Virginia English Teachers' Association was asked whether any teacher present had ever heard "you-all" used in the South to refer to one person. All agreed that, though it may occasionally be used in addressing one person, it invariably *refers* to more than one—to that person and those associated with him. J. M. G.

Farmville, Virginia.

THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE

As I read your quotation from Professor Münsterberg's work "The War and America," and your characterization of his philosophy as being substantially "the law of the jungle," the remembrance suddenly came to me of having made this same mental criticism upon reading an article in the "Independent" by a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World setting forth his views of the relations between the employing and employed classes. Just as Professor Münsterberg declares that neither nation is in the wrong when both desire the same strip of land, harbor, island, outlet to the coast, etc., and try to take them, and that the only way the ownership of such advantages can be settled is for both to fight until the stronger wins, so this writer affirms that he does not find fault with the master class for keeping all it has and trying to get more. The desire on their part is, he thinks, inevitable. He merely takes the ground that his class proposes to meet force with force and to take over all of this wealth by superior power. Now I am quite positive that Professor Münsterberg would not wish his intelligence to be rated lower than that of a labor agitator, yet, if we compare the two men and their views, it seems to me the credit belongs rather to the latter. Professor Münsterberg is not only an educated, but an exceptionally well educated, man. The nation, or nations, whose right to take by force he defends are not oppressed and exploited, but rich and prosperous. On the other hand, our Industrial Workers of the World leader is not supposed to have had one-tenth of the advantages of Professor Münsterberg. The class for which the former speaks, to say the very least, has real grievances, and is in large measure down-trodden and exploited. It is also very largely true, as it claims, that it has actually created the goods it covets and that these have been filched from it by unjust wages, unjust regulations, even unjust laws. But what grievance have Germany and her sister Powers that they should reach out for ever more possessions? None at all. Being already rich and prosperous, they are to take more land, more harbors, more outlets, not because they need them, but so that they may become still more rich and still more prosperous—and because they have the power to do so.

In the jungle we expect to meet hungry tigers, and we expect them to eat us if they get the chance. We may object to being eaten, but we cannot honestly blame them for trying to eat. But what brings these sleek, well-fed tigers glaring across our path with evidently equally malicious intent? Merely that they have a "natural desire" to add to their already excessive supply of fresh meat, and they are stronger than we are. If Professor Münsterberg has really made his point, he has more than justified the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World. No one who agrees with him has the slightest right to criticise them or to complain if they deprive him of his property. They have "need of expansion" in his direction and they have the power to expand.

JOHN R. SWANTON.

Bethesda, Maryland.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

In "American Criticism of German Statecraft," Dr. Junge, in The Outlook of December 9, presents a paper admirable in diction, and he hits us hard with the facts of our minor practical failures as a democracy, but his logic is puzzling. If American democracy is sometimes a little lofty in its preaching, it is not much given, for one thing, to levying indemnity without due process of law. After the indemnity has been collected it may be handed back again, just as likely as not. There is a "difference in our respective ideals," obviously.

Again, Americans, as well as others, have been known to die for an idea, and not a second-hand idea either. Also, if any American citizen becomes possessed of any virtue of the Roman sort or any virtues of the Christian sort, he does not take them into his moral system as the prescription of any ruler.

In the United States all executive and legislative utterances, whether Presidential proclamation or resolution of town council, impliedly begin with the preamble, "The people of —— do ordain." Thereafter every citizen periodically has his day in court to ratify or nullify the act. In many and increasing instances he can appoint his own day in court. Not much government can steadfastly proceed contrary to the intelligent popular purpose. Irrevocable power of attorney is not largely bestowed in affairs of government.

Oakley, California. ALFRED BANNISTER.

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BY THE WAY

Maurice Maeterlinck, the poet and dramatist, does not like to speak in public. In a recent letter declining an invitation to lecture in England he says: "After two minutes' speaking in public I lose my voice entirely. It is a painful spectacle, which one ought to spare any audience, however indulgent." In the same letter he thus compliments the English people: "They are indeed a great people, reliable, chivalrous, generous; the type of what European civilization will one day become after this war is ended."

"House and Garden" suggests that the suburbanite make a "Saturday Afternoon Garden," which will give him wholesome outdoor recreation for his half-holiday, and also reduce the cost of living through the cultivation of vegetables. It suggests that the garden should be begun in January, for there are many preliminaries, more or less delightful, in the way of preparation for the work.

Language seems made to be misunderstood when it seeks to convey an unfamiliar idea. An exchange says that a census clerk found that the blank under the heading "Age of father, if living," and "Age of mother, if living," had been filled with the figures 120 and 112. "But your parents were never so old, were they?" asked the astonished clerk. "No," was the reply," "but they would have been if livin'."

The scale on which film plays are produced may be judged from the newspaper item that a big film play company recently moved from New York to Los Angeles in a twelve-car special train, the mileage and Pullman fares of which amounted to about $22,000. Two comedies were to be completed *en route*, the scenes to be placed in various cities through which the train passed in its transcontinental journey.

A New York tax appraiser recently decided that the good will of a vast brewing business in that State has no pecuniary value, "because the prohibition wave may sweep over New York at any time and wipe out all the breweries."

The country owes Texas for at least three of its citizens who have entered on larger spheres of influence than those found within State boundaries, even when the State is the biggest in the Union: Postmaster-General Burleson; James Stillman, one of the most prominent bankers in the United States, who was born in Brownsville, Texas; and the new President of the College of the City of New York, Dr. Mezes, who comes from a similar position in the University of Texas, and whose portrait will be found on another page.

Automobile accidents not infrequently occur because the driver neglects to see that his clutch is thrown out before he attempts to crank his engine. The result of such carelessness is that the car starts off without any one at the wheel—often beginning its destructive career by knocking down and running over the chauffeur. There certainly exists an opening for a popularly available device to prevent a driver from cranking his engine while the gears are in mesh.

The above suggestion is prompted by the news that Miss Adelaide W. Smith, a woman whose devoted attention saved the lives of many soldiers during our Civil War, had been killed in Brooklyn by an automobile, the driver of which forgot to throw out the clutch and set the brake before cranking the engine. Among Miss Smith's most treasured possessions was a pass, signed by General Grant, which conferred very special privileges upon her. The record of her work is preserved in her interesting book, "Reminiscences of an Army Nurse."

Samuel Gompers was recently elected to the position of President of the American Federation of Labor for the *thirtieth* time. The italicized word indicates Mr. Gompers's standing among the members of the Federation.

Nowhere on the globe, says Professor Ross in the "Century," has so much sweat been paid for a foot of soil as in the Urubamba Valley in Peru. A wall twelve feet high has in places been built here, in the vast system of terraces, to gain for cultivation a strip of earth not over a yard wide. The making of these terraces was done under the Incas, and antedated the coming of the Spaniards; it was, Professor Ross says, "a work for Titans," and outdoes anything in the way of earth-reclamation seen even in China.

Cuzco, the Inca capital, Professor Ross calls "the most fascinating spot in the New World" to lovers of the past. Within a few years, he predicts, it will become a place of pilgrimage for 'see-America-first" travelers who will be eager to visit, in automobiles, "the greatest monuments and the most impressive mountain scenery in the Western Hemisphere."

An English workingman is quoted by Arthur Ruhl as saying, when asked by his employer to enlist for the war, "They've done a lot for workingmen over in Germany: accident insurance, old-age pensions, and all that—what do we want to fight the Kaiser for? We'd just about as soon be under Billy as George." The answer was short and to the point: "If you were under Kaiser Billy, you'd enlist right enough, there's no doubt of *that!*"

On "old newsboys' day" in Detroit many successful men, among whom were aldermen, doctors, and presidents of several of the city's largest industries, sold newspapers for Christmas charity work. No change was given for the papers they sold, and a few of the papers brought $100 each.

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